Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East

Jan N. Bremmer

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Editors

Guy Stroumsa
David Shulman
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Department of Comparative Religion

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By

Jan N. Bremmer

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For Christine

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PREFACE

It is about 730 BC. Somewhere in the area of Tyre and Sidon, an official of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) sat down behind his desk and dictated the following letter:

> To the king my lord,
> your servant Qurdi-Aššur-lamur:
> The 'Ionians' have [a]ppear[ed].
> They have battled at the city of Samsim[uruna?],
> at the city of Harisu, and at the ci[ty of …]
> A ca[valryman] [c]ame to the city of Dana[bu?] (to report this to me).
> I gathered up regular soldiers and conscripted men
> and went after them. Not anything
> did they (the Ionians) carry away. As soon as they [sa]w
> my soldiers they [fled] on their boats. In the midst of the sea
> they [disappeared].[1]

This cuneiform tablet, in which we immediately recognise the typical civil servant, picturing himself as energetic and vigilant, is the very first certain surviving mention of the Greeks in Oriental sources.[2] That does not mean to say that these pirates were the first Greeks to be encountered by the Orient. The letter itself mentions them as a

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[1] For text and translation see R. Rollinger, "The Ancient Greeks and the Impact of the Ancient Near East: textual evidence and historical perspective (ca. 750–650 BC)," in R.M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies = Melammu Symposia* II (Helsinki, 2001) 233–64 at 237. For early mentions of the Ionians see also J.A. Brinkman, "The Akkadian Words for 'Ionia' and 'Ionian'," in R.F. Sutton, Jr (ed.), *Daidalikon. Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.* (Wauconda, 1989) 53–71; A. Kuhrt, "Greek Contact with the Levant and Mesopotamia in the First Half of the First Millennium BC: A View from the East," in G.R. Tsetskhladze and A. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford, 2002) 17–25; R. Zadok, "On Anatolians, Greeks and Egyptians in 'Chaldean' and Achaemenid Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005) 76–106 at 79–80; add ιωναγγο, 'Greek (Ionian)', in a Bactrian text, as noticed by N. Sims-Williams, "Ancient Afghanistan and its invaders: linguistic evidence from the Bactrian documents and inscriptions," in idem (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford, 2002) 225–42 at 228, which must go back to Achaemenid times, as is argued in the review of this book by R. Schmitt, *Kratylos* 50 (2005) 78 note 20.

[2] The case for Hittite Ahhijawa as the land of the Achaeans is not yet decided, cf. S. Heinbold-Kramer, "Ahhijawa—Land der homerischen Achäer im Krieg mit Wiluša?," in C. Ulf (ed.), *Der neue Streit um Troia. Ein Bilanz* (Munich, 2003) 190–214; W.-D. Niemeier, "Minoans, Mycenaeans, Hittites and Ionians in Western Asia Minor: New Excavations in Bronze Age Miletus-Millawanda," in A. Villing (ed.), *The Greeks in the East* (London, 2005) 1–36 at 16–21.

topic familiar to the king, and Greeks had already engaged in a lively trade with the Levant and North Syria since the late tenth century, as witness the discovery of Greek shards and Euboean pendent-semicircle skyphoi in those areas.[3] In the Assyrian notice the Greeks do not yet appear as the ancestors of Western civilisation, but they act as a kind of Mediterranean Vikings. No clash of civilisations here, just plain piracy! And yet, such incursions must have been one of the regular ways, in addition to trade and dedications at sanctuaries, in which the Greeks met the Orient and, one supposes, will have started to reflect on the differences between them and those 'Others'.

A more comprehensive contemporary reflection started only, it seems fair to say, with Walter Burkert's German original version of his book on the Orientalizing revolution in Greek religion and literature of 1984.[4] As with the German edition of Burkert's *Homo necans* (1972),[5] it did not, at least at the time of publication, quite receive all due attention.[6] However, the climate soon changed with the storm caused by Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987),[7] and in the English version of his book (1992) Burkert could already note that his "thesis about the indebtedness of Greek civilization to eastern stimuli may appear less provocative today than it did eight years ago".[8] And indeed, the last decade has witnessed an avalanche of studies on the relationship between Greece and the Orient, as highlights Martin West's *The East Face of Helicon*[9] and Burkert's own recent *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*.[10]

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[3] See now I. Lemos, *The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC* (Oxford, 2002) 228–9. For excellent surveys see E. Guralnick, "East to West: Near Eastern Artifacts from Greek Sites," in D. Charpin and F. Johannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1992) 327–40; I. Lemos, "The Changing Relationship of the Euboeans and the East," in Villing, *The Greeks in the East*, 53–60.

[4] W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1984).

[5] See my review of the English edition of 1983 in *Class. Rev.* 35 (1985) 312f.

[6] I note the following more detailed reviews: G. Neumann, *Historische Sprachforschung* 98 (1985) 304–06; M.L. West, *JHS* 106 (1986) 233–34; W. Pötscher, *Graz. Beitr.* 14 (1987) 281–88; I. Becher, *Oriental. Literaturzt.* 83 (1988) 14–16; P. Habermehl, *Gymnasium* 96 (1989) 158–160.

[7] M. Bernal, *Black Athena* (London, 1987). Of all the literature it spawned I mention here only M. Lefkowitz and G. Rogers (eds.), *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill, 1996).

[8] W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 1992) ix.

[9] M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997), to be read with the reviews by K. Dowden, "West on the East: Martin West's *East Face of Helicon* and its forerunners," *JHS* 121 (2001) 167–75 and N. Wasserman, *Scripta Classica Israelitica* 20 (2001) 261–7.

[10] W. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 2004);

In a review of Burkert's *Orientalizing Revolution*, Robin Osborne has rightly stressed that "it is worth stopping to ask what is really at issue here", even though the question itself is perhaps more important than his own answer.[11] In fact, the answer very much depends on where we stand. Surely, a Hellenist looks at this process differently from an Orientalist, a Cambridge don differently from a Japanese classicist, a modern Greek differently from a modern Turk, Iraqi or Egyptian. There is no single answer.

My own point of view is that interest in the Oriental links enriches our picture of the ancient world at large. Instead of a Mediterranean and Near East with closed borders, we can now see a world in which an individual area, such as Greece, might be advanced in one sphere, such as politics, but in another, such as literature, might be the grateful beneficiary. At the same time, we may also notice the shifting of religious motifs like the Flood from Mesopotamia to Israel and Greece, or the survival of old Anatolian myths and rituals in the Caucasus, such as the myth of Ullikumi and the *eirêsione*.[12] In other words, attention to cultural and religious borrowings provides us with a much more exciting picture of the ancient world than we used to have.

The nature of these exchanges and their times and places, is still very much undergoing elucidation.[13] That is why we should not lay exaggerated claims on the table either for the prominence of Greece or for the dominance of Oriental motifs before we have given more thought to the nature of the Oriental influence on Greece.

* * *

In the later 1990s my biblical colleagues of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the University of Groningen started the series *Themes in Biblical Narrative*. These studies deal with early interpretations of biblical narrative materials and themes in ancient Judaism and early Christianity, such as the Creation, Paradise or the Flood. They asked

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note also his collected articles in this field: W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften II: Orientalia* (Göttingen, 2003).

[11] R. Osborne, "À la grecque," *J. Medit. Arch.* 6 (1993) 231–7 at 232.

[12] Flood: this volume, Chapter VI. Ullikummi: Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 87–95. *Eirêsione*: W. Klinger, "L'irésione grecque et ses transformations posterieures," *Eos* 29 (1926) 157–74; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979) 134f.

[13] For highly interesting observations on the chronology of these contacts see now A. Fantalkin, "Identity in the Making: Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age," in A. Villing and U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt: Studies on East Greek Pottery and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean* (London, 2006) 199–208.

me to participate and to look at these themes from the point of view of the ancient Greek world. I have tried to meet this challenge by tracing Near Eastern traditions into ancient Greece, but also by using Greek evidence to elucidate biblical stories. In addition to these contributions, which I have arranged—admittedly somewhat arbitrarily from a Greek point of view—in the order of their occurrence in the Old Testament, I have also collected here other recent studies that bear on Greece and the Near East as well as on the influence of Greek culture on Hellenistic Judaism and emerging Christianity. Together they will show something of the varied interplay between these cultures.

I am grateful to Guy Stroumsa and David Shulman for accepting this work in their series *Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture*. I would also like to thank Habelt Verlag (Bonn), the Harvard Department of the Classics, the Norwegian Institute in Athens, Peeters (Leuven), Princeton University Press and Ugarit Verlag (Münster) for their permission to reprint the articles mentioned in the Acknowledgements. For this book I have corrected, standardized, updated and, sometimes, slightly expanded all chapters.

Most of the revisions were made in the wonderful environment of the Getty Villa in Malibu, where I was the inaugural Getty Villa Professor in the academic year 2006–2007. Sandy García was always a great help as was my research assistant Kristina Meinking, who also carried out the final corrections to my English. Ken Lapatin, associate curator of antiquities at the Villa, not only often helped with scholarly problems, but he and his wife Marina also shared many happy dinners with us. I also would like to mention Tom Crow, the then director of the Getty Research Institute, and Charles Salas, its head of education, for their parts in making our stay in sunny California unforgettable. The revisions were completed in the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, where I was Visiting Leventis Professor in the autumn of 2007. I am grateful to Douglas Cairns, head of School, and Andrew Erskine, head of Classics, for the invitation and their hospitality in the beautiful city of Edinburgh.

While working on these studies I have incurred many debts, which I have mentioned at the end of each chapter. I therefore will mention here only Annemarie Ambühl and Bob Fowler, who often saved me from mistakes and let me profit from their wide knowledge of the ancient world.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my wife Christine. She not only accompanied me on my journeys to Malibu and Edinburgh but also on

my life's journey, and my scholarly work would not have been possible without her never-failing support.[14]

[14] I am grateful to Irene Lemos for comments and to Nicholas Horsfall for correcting my English.

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I. "Canonical and Alternative Creation Myths in Ancient Greece," in G.-H. van Kooten (ed.), *The Creation of Heaven and Earth* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 73–94.

II. "Pandora or the Creation of a Greek Eve," in G.P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *The Creation of Man and Woman* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 19–33.

III. "Paradise: from Persia, via Greece, into the *Septuagint*," in G. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 1–20, updated in J.N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002) 109–24.

IV. "Brothers and Fratricide in the Ancient Mediterranean: Israel, Greece and Rome," in G.P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Eve's Children* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 77–92, which incorporated part of "Why Did Medea Kill Her Brother Apsyrtus?," in J.J. Clauss and S.I. Johnston (eds.), *Medea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 83–100.

V. "Remember the Titans!," in C. Auffarth and L. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Myth of the Fallen Angels* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 35–61.

VI. "Near Eastern and Native Traditions in Apollodorus' Account of the Flood," in F. García Martínez and G. Luttikhuizen (eds.), *Interpretations of the Flood* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 39–55.

VII. "Don't Look Back: From the Wife of Lot to Orpheus and Eurydice," in E. Noort and E.J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Sodom's Sin* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 131–46.

VIII. "Balaam, Mopsus and Melampous: Tales of Travelling Seers," in G.H. van Kooten and J. van Ruiten (eds.), *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 49–67.

IX. Second part of "Performing Myths: Women's Homes and Men's *Leschai*," in S. de Bouvrie (ed.), *Myth and Symbol* II (Athens: the Norwegian Institute, 2005) 123–40.

X. "The Scapegoat between Hittites, Greeks, Israelites and Christians," in R. Albertz (ed.), *Kult, Konflikt und Versöhnung* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001) 175–86 (= Chapter X.1, 2); "Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

87 (299–320), updated in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford: OUP, 2000) 271–93 (= Chapter X.3); "The Atonement in the Interaction of Greeks, Jews and Christians," in J.N. Bremmer and F. García Martínez (eds.), *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism* (Kampen: Kok, 1992) 75–93 (= Chapter X.4).

XI. "Close Encounters of the Third Kind: Heliodorus in the Temple and Paul on the Road to Damascus," in D. Houtman *et al.* (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi: Religious Innovations in Antiquity. Studies in honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 367–84.

XII. "The Birth of the Term 'Magic," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126 (1999) 1–12, updated in J.N. Bremmer and J.R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 1–11, 267–73.

XIII. "Anaphe, Aeschrology and Apollo Aiglêtês," in A. Harder and M. Cuypers (eds.), *Beginning from Apollo. Studies in Apollonius Rhodius and the Argonautic Tradition* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005) 8–34.

XIV. "Attis: A Greek God in Anatolian Pessinous and Catullan Rome," *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2004) 534–73 = R. Nauta and A. Harder (eds.), *Catullus' Poem on Attis* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 25–64.

XV. "The Myth of the Golden Fleece, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 6 (2006) 9–38 (Chapter XV.1–4, 6) and "Why Did Medea Kill Her Brother Apsyrtus?," in J.J. Clauss and S.I. Johnston (eds.), *Medea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 83–100 (Chapter XV.5).

Appendix I Originally, the appendix to Chapter I.

Appendix II Originally, the appendix to Chapter XII.

Appendix III "The Meaning and Spelling of the Name Megabyxos," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 146 (2004) 9–10.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

For ancient authors the abbreviations in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (Oxford, 1996) have usually been followed. Comic fragments are cited from *PCG*, fragments of Aeschylus and Sophocles from the editions of Radt, of Euripides from that of Kannicht. Other editions appear in the index, where they are identified by editor. All commentaries are identified by the commentator. Quotations from the Bible, the books of the *Maccabees* included, follow the New Revised Standard Version.

ANET	J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1969[3])
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
DDD[2]	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 1999[2])
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–)
Fowler	R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* I (Oxford, 2000)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich, 1981–1999)
MÉFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
OCD[3]	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (Oxford, 1996)

OF	A. Bernabé, *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Poetae Epici Graeci. Pars II. Fasc. 1–3* (Munich and Leipzig, 2004–07)
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici graeci* (Berlin and New York, 1983–)
PMG	D. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RE	*Paulys Realenzyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1984–1973)
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RGG^{4}	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*^{4} (Tübingen, 1998–2007)
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histore des Religions*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923–)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin and New York, 1983)
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*
SVF	H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–24)
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TGrF	R. Kannicht, S. Radt and B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1971–2004)
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, 5 vols. (Los Angeles, 2005–06)
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–)
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin and New York, 1977–2004)
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

CHAPTER ONE

CANONICAL AND ALTERNATIVE CREATION MYTHS

Contrary to what we perhaps think, Near Eastern peoples normally heard about the creation only on ritual occasions:[1] *Illuyankaš* was the cult legend of the Hittite Purulli festival;[2] *Enumah elish* was recited during the Babylonian New Year festival (*ANET* 331–4), and Egyptian cosmogonic myths were alluded to every day in the hymns sung during the rituals that were performed in the secrecy of the temple, which themselves were re-enactments of the creation.[3] In Greece, on the other hand, poems with (fragmentary) accounts of the creation could be performed at festivals but also at the courts of kings and aristocrats. In this chapter I will first present a brief analysis of what I call the canonical versions of the creation, since they occur in Homer and Hesiod, the traditional teachers of ancient Greek religion (§ 1). Secondly, I will discuss two accounts influenced by Orphism, a somewhat later, alternative current within Greek culture (§ 2).

1. *Canonical versions*

Whereas Near Eastern cosmogonic myths reach back at least into the third millennium BC, ancient Greece came rather late to its cosmogonies. Local Greek histories show that traditionally the beginning of the world was presupposed, although anthropogonies did occasionally exist.[4] It was a sign of the rise of Greek civilization and its growing contacts with the Near East that in the eighth century BC poets started to borrow

[1] For good surveys of creation accounts see H. Schwabl, "Weltschöpfung," in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962) 1433–1589; A. Merkt *et al*., "Weltschöpfung," in *Der Neue Pauly* XII.2 (2002) 463–74.

[2] See the beginning of the myth of Illuyanka in H. Hoffner, Jr, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990) 11; J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) 82f.

[3] See S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, "La naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne," in *La Naissance du monde* = *Sources orientales* 1 (Paris, 1959) 17–91; S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1994); F. Dunand and C. Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Egypt* (Ithaca and London, 2004) 42–70.

[4] See this volume, Chapter II, introduction.

from the Near East to fill this gap. The first attempts are still visible in the *Iliad*. In a passage that has been much discussed of late, Hera announces that she wants to reconcile "Okeanos, begetter of the gods, and mother Tethys" (XIV.201). The English Prime Minister William Gladstone, who was highly interested in the contemporary discoveries of cuneiform tablets,[5] already realized that this couple derived from the beginning of *Enuma elish*, where we read:

> When skies above were not yet named / Nor earth below pronounced by name, / Apsu, the first one, their begetter / And maker Tiamat, who bore them all, / Had mixed their waters together, / But had not formed pastures, nor discovered reed-beds; / When yet no gods were manifest, / Nor names pronounced, nor destinies decreed, / Then gods were born within them (I.1–9).[6]

Walter Burkert has persuasively shown that the Greek Tethys is a perfect transcription of Akkadian Tiamat.[7] This means that Okeanos must be the Greek version of Apsu. His etymology is clearly un-Greek,[8] and his origin is obscure, but the fact that the strange epithet *apsorrhoos* is applied only to him (XVIII.399) suggests that Homer realised the resemblance.[9] Okeanos is the fresh water that encircles the world and the source of all rivers and springs (XXI.195–7). The couple appears several times in Greek mythology, as in Hesiod and in an Orphic poem quoted by Plato in his *Cratylus*: "The handsome river Okeanos was the first to marry, he who wedded his sister Tethys, the daughter of his mother".[10] Here the couple keeps its primacy,[11] which was even

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[5] W.E. Gladstone, *Landmarks of Homeric Studies* (London, 1890) 129–32. For his presence during the announcement of the discovery of the Flood on a Gilgamesh tablet, see this volume, Chapter VI, introduction.

[6] All translations of Mesopotamian myths are from S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 2000[2]).

[7] W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 92–3 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass., 2004) 30–1 (to be read with the reservations of M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon*, Oxford 1997, 147 note 20), accepted by Janko on *Iliad* XIV.200–7.

[8] For his pre-Greek name see E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague, 1972) 124; W. Fauth, "Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)-Ogen(os)-Ogygos," *Beitr. z. Namensf.* 23 (1988) 361–79; West, *East Face*, 146–8.

[9] West, *East Face*, 148; differently, A. Kelly, "*Apsorroou Ôkeanoio*: a Babylonian reminiscence?," *CQ* 57 (2007) 280–2.

[10] Hes. *Th.* 337, 362, 368, fr. 343.4; Acusilaus F 1 Fowler; Plato, *Crat.* 402b = *OF* 22.

[11] For the problems of this verse see most recently, if not totally persuasively, M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983) 120; A. Bernabé, *Hieros logos. Poesía órfica sobre los dioses, el alma y el más allá* (Madrid, 2003) 56.

appropriated by local mythology. In his *Corinthiaca* the poet Eumelos mentions that Corinth took its alternative name from "Ephyra, the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys" (fr. 1^B D = 1 B).[12] On the other hand, according to Plato in the *Timaeus* (40e), Okeanos and Tethys are the children of Ouranos and Gaia, but parents of Kronos and Rhea. Apparently, the existence of the couple itself was canonical, but their place in the divine genealogy variable.

Does this mean that the Homeric mention of the couple was also part of an old theogony, as Richard Janko has suggested?[13] That seems doubtful. As our quotation from *Enuma elish* shows, the couple has been taken from the beginning of that poem. However, this passage was not the only Greek borrowing from Near Eastern literature. The casting of the lots by Zeus, Poseidon and Hades in the *Iliad* (XV.187–93) was derived from the beginning of a Near Eastern poem, the Akkadian *Atrahasis*. Similarly, the Hittite *Song of Kumarbi*, from which Hesiod, directly or indirectly, borrowed the castration of Ouranos, is the first song of the *Kumarbi Cycle*.[14] Evidently, the early Greeks took some of their material from the beginning of the great Near Eastern epics, poems that were especially popular in school curricula.[15] We need therefore not postulate an elaborate pre-Homeric theogony or cosmogony. A simple allusion is sufficient.

Now what did this first cosmogony mean to the early Greeks? Just like the Babylonians with Tiamat and Apsu and the Egyptians with Nun, the primordial waters,[16] some Greeks apparently imagined the beginning of the world as water: the idea clearly prefigures Pherecydes' (fr. 64) and Thales' (A 12) idea of water as the first principle.[17] The Israelites evidently had the same idea: "the spirit of God hovered upon the face

[12] For the *Corinthiaca* see M.L. West, "'Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?," *JHS* 122 (2002) 109–33 at 118–26.

[13] Janko on *Iliad* XIV.200–7.

[14] H. Hoffner, "The Song of Silver," in E. Neu and C. Rüster (eds.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Wiesbaden, 1988) 143–66.

[15] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 95; add now J.H. Huehnergard and W.H. van Soldt, "A Cuneiform Lexical Text from Ashkelon with a Canaanite Column," *Israel Expl. J.* 49 (1999) 184–92. P. Michalowski, "The Libraries of Babel: Text, Authority, and Tradition in Ancient Mesopotamia," in G. Dorleijn and H. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Cultural Repertories* (Leuven, 2003) 105–29 at 118 observes that many Near-Eastern libraries had only one or two tablets of the great epics.

[16] S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960) 184.

[17] Thales (= Ar. *Met.* 983b20), cf. U. Hölscher, *Anfängliches Fragen* (Göttingen, 1968) 9–89; J. Rudhardt, *Le thème de l'eau primordiale dans la mythologie grecque* (Berne, 1971); O. Keel, "Altägyptische und biblische Weltbilder, die Anfänge der vorsokratischen Philosophie

of the waters" (*Genesis* 1.2). The mention of *tôhû* in this verse points to Tiamat and shows that both the Israelites and the Greeks borrowed the idea of water as a primeval element from the Mesopotamians. In Greece, Okeanos thus replaced and expanded the function of the river god Achelôos, the former Greek origin of all the world's waters.[18]

There is also another Mesopotamian element in the Iliadic cosmogony. Okeanos is called 'begetter of the gods'. This, too, must have come from the same first verses of *Enuma elish*, but such a detail was naturally rejected by the Israelites. It remains noteworthy that any reference to an original progenitor is lacking in this ultra-short Greek cosmogony. There is no *bereshit* (*Genesis* 1.1), the word that refers to *Enuma elish*'s naming of Apsu as 'the first one', *reshtu*, a word of the same root. *Archê*, 'beginning', will appear only with Thales and the like.

But was this primordial couple really the very first? In the passage from the *Iliad* in which it occurs we also meet Night, who apparently occupies such an important position that even Zeus dares not offend her (XIV.261).[19] In fact, several later poets and philosophers mention Night as the first principle. Night already concludes Hesiod's 'reversed cosmogony' in his *Theogony* (11–20). She is the first element in Musaeus (B 14) and, together with Aer, in Epimenides (B 5 = F 6 Fowler). In early Orphism, Night is the mother of Heaven, as we now know from the Derveni papyrus (XIV.6 = *OF* 10);[20] after two introductory hymns, the imperial collection of *Orphic Hymns* also starts with a hymn to Night.[21] Finally, Night was first with Silence in Antiphanes' comedy *Theogony*,[22]

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und das *Archê*-Problem in späten biblischen Schriften," in B. Janowski and B. Ego (eds.), *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte* (Tübingen, 2001) 27–63.

[18] See the splendid demonstration by G. d'Alessio, "Textual Fluctuations and Cosmic Streams: Ocean and Acheloios," *JHS* 124 (2004) 16–37.

[19] C. Ramnoux, *La Nuit et les enfants de la Nuit dans la tradition grecque* (Paris, 1959) 62–108 ("La nuit de la cosmogonie") is not really helpful.

[20] Cf. *OF* 20; cf. L. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine* (Aldershot, 1995) VI.201–2; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* III (Göttingen, 2006) 99.

[21] L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* 7 (Amsterdam, 1990) 569–73, with a discussion of, surely Orphic, dedications to Night.

[22] Cf. R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci* 2 (Berlin and New York, 1991) 366f.

figured at the beginning of a number of philosophical genealogies,[23] and was the oldest owner of the Delphic oracle.[24]

Darkness is of course another frequent characterization of the primeval situation before the actual creation, although we do not find primeval darkness in Mesopotamia. The Roman mythographer Hyginus, who summarized and compiled Greek traditions, started his *Fabulae* with a strange hodgepodge of Greek and Roman cosmogonies and early genealogies. It begins as follows: *Ex Caligine Chaos. Ex Chao et Caligine Nox Dies Erebus Aether* (*Praefatio* 1). His genealogy looks like a derivation from Hesiod, but it starts with the un-Hesiodic and un-Roman *Caligo*, 'Darkness'. Darkness probably did occur in a cosmogonic poem of Alcman,[25] but it seems only fair to say that it was not prominent in Greek cosmogonies.

The situation must have been different in Egypt. Here we encounter the primeval couple Kek and Kauket, 'Darkness', in the *Ogdoad* of Hermopolis,[26] and darkness still is the primeval element in the *Strassbourg cosmogony*, the Late Antique Greek poem from, almost certainly, also Hermopolis; it is related to Hermetic literature and describes how Hermes (here the *interpretatio Graeca* of Thoth) creates the world.[27] In *Genesis* we read that "darkness was upon the face of the deep" (1.2). Before we detect Egyptian influence here, we must note that the Phoenician Philo of Byblos, who lived in the first and second century AD, also calls the primeval situation 'dark air and slimy chaos' (*FGrH* 790 F 2). Unfortunately, it is not that easy to determine Philo's value as a source for original Phoenician traditions. There was no proper Ugaritic cosmogony,[28] and it is somewhat suspicious that he ascribes

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[23] Anaxagoras B 51; Chrysippus *apud* Philodemus, *De pietate* 359–60, cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.44, which mentions a Stoic genealogy that began with Erebos and Night and probably refers to this text.

[24] Cf. the discussion by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991) 242 note 73.

[25] Alcman fr. 81.21 Calame = 5. fr. 2 iii.21 Davies, cf. S. Rangos, "Alcman's Cosmogony Revisited," *Class. et Med.* 54 (2003) 81–112 at 93f.

[26] Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 184.

[27] See most recently G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Princeton, 1993^2) 175; K. Geus, "Ägyptisches und Griechisches in einer spätantiken Kosmogonie," in K. Döring *et al.* (eds.), *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption* 8 (Trier, 1998) 101–18 (with thanks to Klaus Geus for kindly sending me a copy of his article).

[28] A.S. Kapelrud, "Creation in the Ras Shamra Texts," *Studia Theol.* 34 (1980) 1–11; G. Casadio, "Adversaria Orphica et Orientalia," *SMSR* 52 (1986) 291–322; S. Ribichini, "Traditions phéniciennes chez Philon de Byblos: une vie éternelle pour des dieux mortels," in C. Kappler (ed.), *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà* (Paris, 1987) 101–16.

his information to Sanchuniathon "from before the Trojan War" (*FGrH* 790 F 1). Moreover, Philo had read, almost certainly, *Genesis*,[29] in addition to having written a book *On the Jews* (*FGrH* 790 F 9–11), and his work shows clear signs of Greek influence as well as being Hellenistic in structure.[30] On the other hand, some of his information squares very well with the Orphic cosmogonies,[31] which, as we now know, did indeed partially derive from Phoenician traditions.[32] As Philo's primeval mother Baau, interpreted by him as Night, has long been compared with *Genesis*' *tôhû wa-bôhû* (1.2)[33] and Baau's partner Kolpia, 'Wind', may well derive from *ruah*, 'wind', in the same verse,[34] it seems plausible that both *Genesis* and Philo drew on a backcloth of Canaanite mythology. We should not forget that the Phoenician cities had long preserved their independence and in that process authentic Phoenician traditions.[35] It is not impossible, then, that Homer derived Night too, directly or indirectly, from the beginning of a Near Eastern,[36] perhaps Phoenician, cosmogonical account.

What I would like to conclude from this discussion so far is that in archaic Greece there was already an interest in cosmogony, but that some poets seem to have gone no further than making brief observations, which they, directly or indirectly, derived from the Ancient Near East. These observations still presuppose a biomorphic mode, to use Burkert's terminology, in which creation is following the model of

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[29] As shown by M.J. Edwards, "Philo or Sanchuniathon? A Phoenician Cosmogony," *CQ* 41 (1991) 213–20 at 217–8; K. Koch, "Wind und Zeit als Konstituenten des Kosmos in phönikischer Mythologie und spätalttestamentlichen Texten," in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Mesopotamica-Ugaritica-Biblica* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993) 59–91.

[30] See Edwards, "Philo or Sanchuniathon?"; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge Mass., 1993) 277–8; G. Bowersock, *Fiction as History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1994) 43f.

[31] This was already noted by William Robertson Smith (1846–1894), in the second and third series of his famous lectures on *The Religion of the Semites* (1890–91), which have been only recently published, cf. W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (Second and Third Series)*, ed. J. Day (Sheffield, 1995) 104–7.

[32] Cf. M.L. West, "*Ab ovo*. Orpheus, Sanchuniathon, and the Origins of the Ionian World Model," *CQ* 44 (1994) 289–307; C. López-Ruiz, "Some Oriental Elements in Hesiod and the Orphic Cosmogonies," *JANER* 6 (2006) 71–104.

[33] A. Baumgarten, *The* Phoenician History *of Philo of Byblos* (Leiden, 1981) 145; West, *Orphic Poems*, 188.

[34] West, "*Ab ovo*," 297. Baumgarten, *Philo of Byblos*, 144 objects to this interpretation, as "it makes Philo's sources too Biblical to be true".

[35] F. Millar, *Rome, The Greek World, and the East* III (Chapel Hill, 2006) 45f.

[36] For 'darkness' in the Sumerian text NBC 11108 see W. Römer, "Mythen und Epen I" = *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* III/3 (Gütersloh, 1993) 553f.

genealogical myth, whereas in *Genesis* the technomorphic mode—'God created…'—is more prominent.

For a full genealogy, though, we have to turn to Hesiod. His *Theogony* also contains a cosmogony, but since that subject is not very dramatic, he presents it only in a nutshell. It may be useful to first give a translation:

> First of all Chasm came into being; but next
> wide-breasted Earth, always safe foundation of all
> immortals who possess the peaks of snowy Olympus
> and dark Tartara in a recess of the wide-pathed earth,
> and Eros, who is fairest among immortal gods,
> looser of limbs, who conquers the mind and sensible thought
> in the breasts of all gods and all men.
> From Chasm were born Erebos and black Night;
> from Night were born Aither and Day,
> whom she conceived and bore, joined in love with Erebos.
> Earth first brought forth equal to herself
> starry Heaven to cover her all over, and
> to be an always safe home for the blessed gods.
> She bore tall mountains, pleasing homes of divine
> Nymphs who dwell in the valed mountains.
> She also bore the barren sea, violent in surge,
> Pontos, without love's union; but next
> she lay with Heaven and bore deep-whirling Okeanos,
> and Koios and Kreios and Hyperion and Iapetos,
> and Theia and Rhea and Themis and Mnemosyne
> and gold-crowned Phoibe and attractive Tethys.
> After them was born the youngest, crafty Kronos,
> most terrible of children; he hated his lusting father.[37]

Unlike *Enuma elish* and *Genesis*, Hesiod's world is gradually built from the bottom upwards. The parent of them all is Chaos, literally 'Chasm', in fact, a kind of Black Hole (814), even though it is not that easy to understand what Hesiod really meant by it. Epicurus even turned to philosophy because his schoolmaster could not explain to him its meaning in the *Theogony* (Diog. Laert. 10.2). The gender of Chaos is neuter, as befits the absolute beginning, although it gives birth to Erebos and Night (123). From a passage later in the poem (740) we learn that

[37] Hes. *Th.* 116–37, tr. R. Caldwell, *Hesiod's Theogony* (Cambridge MA, 1987) 35–7 (slightly adapted). In my discussion I am much indebted to the brilliant commentary by M.L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966).

it was situated between Earth and Tartarus, the deepest area of the underworld.[38] That is presumably why these two are mentioned next. The coming into being of Earth naturally reminds us of *Genesis*, where at the very beginning the earth is also already present, even if "without form and void" (1.2). Earth's primeval role is celebrated in her *Homeric Hymn* as 'mother of everything' and 'the oldest' (1–2). Yet she was not particularly honoured in ancient Greece. We know of only a few cults for her, and her ritual deviated from that of the Olympians. Apparently, her primeval role differentiated her from the later Olympians who had much more developed personalities.[39] The mention of Tartarus is less readily explicable, and some Greek authors, such as Plato and Aristotle, ignored lines 118–9.[40] Martin West (*ad loc*.) even thinks it possible that Tartarus was inserted as a Hesiodic afterthought. However, several early authors did mention Tartarus at the beginning of their cosmogony; Musaeus (B 14) even started his creation story with him.[41] As Hesiod built his universe from the bottom up, to start with Tartarus seems fully understandable.

The next to be mentioned is Eros. His place here prefigures the quasi-demiurgic function that he occupies in early philosophers, poets and mythographers (§ 2). In any case, it is a remarkable invention by Hesiod that finds no parallel in any of the other Ancient Near Eastern creation stories; the corresponding position of Pothos in Phoenician cosmology may have been its source.[42] Hesiod is followed only by the fifth-century Argive mythographer Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F 5 = F 6a, b Fowler) in not giving Eros any parents. Later authors provided him with different parents,[43] but their variations confirm the absence of an authoritative tradition in this respect.

It is only after these indispensable elements that the creation proper seems to take off. Chaos now gives birth to Erebos and Night, whereas in *Genesis* God first creates light (1.3). Only subsequently are Aither

[38] See Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 4, 91.

[39] F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 360; M.B. Moore, "Ge," in *LIMC* IV.1 (1988) 171–7; S. Georgoudi, "Gaia/Gê. Entre mythe, culte et idéologie," in S. des Bouvrie (ed.), *Myth and Symbol* I (Athens, 2002) 113–34.

[40] See the discussion by West *ad loc*.; G. Kirk, J. Raven and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1983^2) 35.

[41] Epimenides *FGrH* 457 F 4 = F 6a Fowler; Ar. *Av*. 693.

[42] Eudemus fr. 150; Laitos *FGrH* 784 F 4, cf. West "*Ab ovo*," 290–1, 298–9, 304.

[43] Sappho fr. 198; Alcaeus fr. 327 and Simonides *PMG* 575.

and Day born from Night, but to make this process work properly, Hesiod had to change the grammatical gender of Erebos from neuter to masculine. In both cases, we first hear about the general categories, darkness and light, whereas only later do Night and Day arrive into the world.

It is perhaps surprising that Earth is mentioned only now as giving birth to Heaven, but God also created heaven rather late in *Genesis* (1.7–8). Heaven is called 'bronze' in the *Iliad* (XVII.425) and 'iron' in the *Odyssey* (15.329), and it seems to have been represented as a solid roof, flat and parallel to the earth, as it is 'equal to her'. This symmetry is typical of Greek cosmologies: "it is assumed that the great divisions of the world are of equal size and at equal distances apart" (West *ad loc*.). Heaven was an insignificant god, who had no cult in ancient Greece. That is perhaps why Hesiod stresses that heaven is the seat of the gods, who are normally located on Olympus.

It is a rather archaic element in this cosmogony that mountains are seen as something different from the rest of the earth. There may well be a trace of Hittite influence here, since a *Kumarbi* fragment states:

> seven times he sent me against the dark earth…and seven times he sent me against the heaven…and seven times he sent me against the mountains and rivers.[44]

However, Marduk created mountains from Tiamat's udder (*Enuma elish* V.57), and mountains are also mentioned separately in God's creation in *Proverbs* (8.23–6) and considered to belong to the oldest elements of the creation (*Psalm* 90.2; *Job* 15.7). The collocation of the rough mountains with the lovely Nymphs is a subtle touch in this cosmogony.[45]

After heaven, earth and mountains, we finally reach the sea, a good indication of the low esteem in which it was held by the Greeks.[46] Pontos is an obscure figure, not mentioned by Homer and without any cult;[47] similarly, in *Genesis* (1.10) the sea is mentioned virtually at the end of

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[44] *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* XXXIII.105, tr. Martin West.

[45] For the creation of mountains in Chinese, Greek, Near Eastern and Islamic cosmology see D. Accorinti, "*Parturiunt montes an parturiuntur?* La nascità delle montagne nel mito," in idem and P. Chuvin (eds.), *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges offerts à F. Vian* (Alessandria, 2003) 1–24.

[46] A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna, 1947); E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979) 179–209; R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 99–101.

[47] For a possible representation see J. Doerig, "Der Dreileibige," *Athen. Mitt.* 99 (1984) 89–95.

God's creation of the universe. With the birth of the sea we come to the end of the 'immaculate conception' of Earth's children Heaven, mountains and the sea. It is not immediately clear why these have been produced without a father, but it seems that their 'primeval' status did not yet make them fit for being the product of a civilized marriage.

It is only now that Earth enters into a sexual relationship. With Heaven she brought forth the twelve Titans. West (*ad loc.*) comments that "the marriage of Earth and Sky is a very common mythological motif". It is certainly true that in Greece too the growth of nature was represented as a fertilization of earth by the rain of heaven. A good example is a fragment from Aeschylus' *Danaids*:

> Holy sky passionately longs to make love to earth, and desire (the Hesiodic Eros!) takes hold of earth to achieve this union. Rain from her bedfellow heaven falls and fertilizes earth, and she brings forth for mortals pasturage for flocks and Demeter's livelihood.[48]

Yet the Greek and Latin parallels of this fragment use the sexual relationship between Heaven and Earth only as a metaphor.[49] In fact, none of them proves that the Greeks saw nature as the product of a proper relationship between Heaven and Earth.

Moreover, the outcome of this sexual meeting goes in a completely different direction. When we look at the children produced, we see a rather mixed bunch. Admittedly, they are known collectively as the Titans, but only a few of them are really fitting for a cosmogony, and Hesiod took most of them from other contexts.[50] For our purpose we need to observe only that, unlike the passage from the *Iliad* with which we started, Okeanos and Tethys do not here form the first cosmogonic couple but are incorporated into the set of children. It cannot be true that, as West argues (*ad loc.*), the couple eventually suggest the separation of the upper and lower waters, a kind of parallel to the separation of Heaven and Earth. There is no indication for such a meaning in the Greek or Mesopotamian texts.[51] On the other hand, we do notice

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[48] Aesch. fr. 44.1–5, tr. Kirk, Raven and Schofield, *Presocratic Philosophers*, 39 (slightly adapted).

[49] Cf. Eur. fr. 839, 898, 941; Lucr. 1.250, 2.992; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.60 and *G.* 2.324ff; Hor. *Ep.*13.2; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.185–6; Plut. *M.* 770a; *Pervigilium Veneris* 59ff.

[50] See this volume, Chapter V, section 2; J.L. Lightfoot, "Giants and Titans in Oracula Sibyllina 1–2," in *Mélanges Vian*, 393–401.

[51] But W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 235 compares Anaximander A 10; Leucippus A 1 § 32.

that Hesiod had completely minimized the significance of the couple in his genealogy. There is a quiet polemic with Homer going on in his passage that can hardly be overheard.

2. *Alternative versions*

With the Titans we have come to the end of our discussion of the archaic cosmogonies. It was especially the so-called Orphic movement that was dissatisfied with the solution that the poets had offered about the coming into being of universe and man. From about 500 BC onwards they offered alternative versions, although these did not carry the same authority as those by Homer and Hesiod. The most surprising find in this context is undoubtedly the Derveni papyrus, which has supplied us with the oldest original Orphic theogony. This text has already received much attention in recent years, and that is why I would like to concentrate here on two other, shorter texts, one serious and one more humorous, that can give us some idea of this speculative movement and its concerns.

In Euripides' tragedy *Wise Melanippe*, which probably dates from the 420s, the eponymous heroine says:

> Heaven and earth were once a single form; but when they were separated from each other into two, they bore and delivered into the light all things: trees, winged creatures, beasts reared by the briny sea—and the human race.

Her audience must have been pretty surprised to hear these doctrines, especially as she had assured them: "This account is not my own; I had it from my mother".[52] Kirk, Raven and Schofield take the latter information at face value, as if Greek mothers would delight their children with cosmogonies, but this, surely, says more about English educational ideals than Greek practices.[53] The passage is quoted with other Orphic fragments on a Late Antique bowl (*OF* 66), which assures its Orphic character.[54]

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[52] Eur. fr. 484 = J. Diggle, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta selecta* (Oxford, 1998) 122, tr. C. Collard, M.J. Cropp and K.H. Lee, *Euripides, Selected Fragmentary Plays* I (Warminster, 1995) 253, whose commentary (mainly by Cropp) I have gratefully used.

[53] *Contra* Kirk, Raven and Schofield, *Presocratic Philosophers*, 43.

[54] For the Orphic content see A. Bernabé, "Orphisme et Présocratiques: bilan et perspectives d'un dialogue," in A. Laks and C. Louguet (eds.), *Qu'est-ce que la Philosophie Présocratique?* (Lille, 2002) 205–47 at 216f.

The theme of the separation of heaven and earth is also found in an Orphicising passage in Apollonius of Rhodes, where heaven, earth and sea together start off in one form.[55] The same idea occurs on a papyrus in which Zeus himself acts as demiurge (*SH* 938 = *OF* 68) and in a fragment that was once ascribed to Democritus (B 5, 1), but hardly seems to deserve it. Apparently, there was an Orphic tradition about the oneness of the primeval *materia*, even though we do not find this particular tradition in any extant Orphic poem.

But where did the idea derive from? Cornford noted already the antiquity of the motif and pointed to parallels in Indian, Babylonian, Egyptian and Chinese mythology, but went no further than this enumeration.[56] Cropp (*ad loc*.), on the other hand, specifies that the separation of heaven and earth is the ancient mythical conception found in the *Enuma elish*, although, we may add, this conception was derived from the Babylonians' western neighbours. Yet there it is said that Marduk used half of the slain Tiamat "to roof the sky" (IV.135–46) and the other half to make the earth for gods and humans (V.61–2), which is not quite the same.[57] The tradition that heaven and earth were formed from an egg, as recorded in a Phoenician cosmogony recorded by the Greek Laitos, is hardly a convincing parallel either.[58] So, from where does this tradition derive?

In fact, there can hardly be any doubt about its origin. It has recently become increasingly clear that Orphism not only borrowed from Oriental poems, but also was heavily influenced by Egyptian traditions. From the seventh century onwards, Lydian, Carian and Greek mercenaries had entered the service of the Pharaohs and even left their 'Kilroy was here' in Abu Simbel;[59] merchants traded in Naucratis in

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[55] AR 1.494–511 = *OF* 67.

[56] F. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy* (London, 1912) 67.

[57] Th. Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat," *J. Am. Or. Soc*. 88 (1968) 104–8; J.-M. Durand *et al*., "Le combat du dieu de l'orage avec la Mer," *MARI* 7 (1993) 41–70 at 45; M. Bauks, *Die Welt am Anfang. Zum Verhältnis von Vorwelt und Weltentstehung in Gen 1 und in der altorientalischen Literatur* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997) 249–51.

[58] *Contra* Collard, *Euripides, Selected Fragmentary Plays* I, 269; West, "*Ab ovo*".

[59] See most recently P.W. Haider, "Griechen im Vorderen Orient und in Ägypten bis ca. 590 v. Chr.," in Ch. Ulf (ed.), *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität* (Berlin, 1996) 59–115 at 95–113; H. Hauben, "Das Expeditionsheer Psamtiks II. in Abu Simbel (593/92 v. Chr.)," in K. Geus and K. Zimmermann (eds.), *Punica—Libyca—Ptolemaica. Festschrift Werner Huss* (Leuven, 2001) 53–77; M. Bietak (ed.), *Archaische Griechische Tempel und Altägypten* (Vienna, 2001); K. Kopanias, "Der ägyptisierende "Branchide" aus Didyma," in H. Klinkott (ed.), *Anatolien im Lichte kultureller Wechselwirkungen* (Tübingen, 2001) 149–66; O. Carruba, "Cario *Natri* ed. egizio *n t r* 'dio'," in M. Fritz and

the Nile Delta,[60] and Egyptian religion must have gradually become better known ever since. In fact, it has already long been seen that the function of the Orphic Gold Leaves as 'passports', their dialogue form, and their mention of fresh water derive from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.[61] And indeed, Egyptian influence on Orphism has recently been stressed and documented by Burkert.[62] Now, the separation of heaven and earth is a highly familiar motif in Egyptian religious literature and iconography. A Pyramid text (1208c) already speaks of the time when "heaven was separated from earth, when the gods ascended to heaven". The idea was taken up by Heliopolis and given its classic formulation: Shu separates the sky (Nut) from earth (Geb).[63] I therefore conclude that Orphism had taken this motif also from ancient Egypt.

The idea that the union of Heaven and Earth generates all living things does appear elsewhere in Greek tradition. We have already seen it in Aeschylus' *Danaids* (above), but it also occurs in fragments of Euripides where Sky (Aither) and Earth generate and recycle all life.[64] The striking aspect of our passage is that the human race is mentioned as well and, moreover, clearly as the most important 'product' of the cosmic union, since the passage is part of a speech in which Melanippe defends her infants. The mention of the human race, therefore, well fits with the already noticed Orphic interest in anthropogony.

Burkert has posed the question of whether cosmogonical poetry was sung during healing rituals, but admits that "detailed documentation is still not available".[65] He has not been able to adduce any specific Greek passage, and neither do we find it here. Yet it has been noted

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S. Zeilfelder (eds.), *Novalis Indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag* (Graz, 2002) 75–84; H. Beck *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (Frankfurt, Tübingen and Berlin, 2005).

[60] For Naucratis see most recently A. Möller, *Naukratis* (Oxford, 2000); A. Bresson, *La cité marchande* (Bordeaux and Paris, 2000) 13–63, 65–84 and "Quatre emporia antiques: Abal, la Picola, Elizavetouskie, Naucratis," *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 104 (2002) 475–505 at 496–505; U. Höckmann and D. Kreikenbom (eds.), *Naukratis: die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit* (Möhnesee, 2001); A. Villing and U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt* (London, 2006).

[61] F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin and New York, 1974) 125–6; S. Morenz, *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Cologne, 1975) 462–89; R. Merkelbach, "Die goldenen Totenpässe: ägyptisch, orphisch, bakchisch," *ZPE* 128 (1999) 1–13.

[62] Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 71–98.

[63] For these and other texts see Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 182–3; H. te Velde, "The Theme of Separation of Heaven and Earth in Greek Mythology," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977) 161–70.

[64] Eur. fr. 182a, 839, 898.

[65] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 64.

that the abilities of Melanippe's mother Hippo display an 'exotic character',[66] since, in addition to the cosmogony, she also "sang oracular songs to men, telling them cures and deliverances from their pains" (fr. 481.16–7, tr. Collard *et al.*). The 'exotic' usually derives from either certain traditional topoi or from reality.[67] And indeed, in our Greek texts there is one particular class of people associated with divination, the telling of a theogony and the healing of the sick, like those struck by epilepsy, viz. the Persian Magi.[68] Mention of them becomes increasingly frequent towards the end of the fifth century, and practising Magi have now turned up in Athens in the Derveni papyrus in a column (VI) that became known only in 1997.[69] Is it to be excluded that Euripides was thinking of them in particular, when he referred to the practices of Melanippe's mother?

After these serious cosmogonies, let us conclude with a brief look at a cosmogonical pastiche. In his *Birds*, Aristophanes relates an ornithogony that displays now familiar but also new aspects of ancient Greek cosmogony:

> In the beginning there was Chaos and Night and Black Erebus and broad Tartarus, but there was no Earth or Aer or Heaven; and in the boundless recesses of Erebus, black-winged Night, first of all beings, brought forth a wind-egg, from which, as the seasons came round, there sprang Eros the much-desired, his back sparkling with golden wings, resembling the swift whirlings of wind. And he, mating by night with winged Chaos in broad Tartarus, produced as chicks our own race and first caused it to see the light. But of old there was no race of immortal gods, until Eros mixed all things together; then, as one thing mixed with another, Heaven came to be, and Okeanos and Earth, and all the imperishable race of blessed gods. Thus we are far older than all the blessed (693–703, tr. A. Sommerstein, slightly revised).[70]

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[66] Collard, *Euripides, Selected Fragmentary Plays*, 270.

[67] See, for example, J.A. González Alcantud, *La extraña seducción. Variaciones sobre el imaginario exótico de occidente* (Granada, 1993).

[68] A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi* (Leiden, 1997) 363 (theogony: Hdt. 1.132), 397–99 (divination). For the Magi at the time of Darius see now J. Kellens, "L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides," *Journal asiatique* 290 (2002) 417–64 at 448–57.

[69] See now the official edition by T. Kouremenos *et al.*, *The Derveni Papyrus* (Florence, 2006), still to be used with the preliminary edition with translation by R. Janko, "The Derveni Papyrus: An interim Text," *ZPE* 141 (2002) 1–62; A. Bernabé, *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Poetae Epici Graeci. Pars II. Fasc. 3* (Munich and Leipzig, 2007) 169–269; this volume, Chapter XII.

[70] For detailed discussions see now A. Pardini, "L'*Ornitogonia* (Ar. *Av*. 693 sgg.) tra serio e faceto: premessa letteraria al suo studio storico-religioso," in A. Masaracchia (ed.), *Orfeo e l'Orfismo* (Rome, 1993) 53–65; N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes, Birds* (Oxford,

The beginning of this cosmogony largely agrees with Hesiod but leaves out Earth, who was equally absent from the first generation in Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F 5 = F 6b–d Fowler), whom Aristophanes may also have known. It is rather surprising that Aristophanes continues by stating what was not yet there: Heaven, Earth and Aer (the misty lower sky as opposed to Aither, the bright upper sky).[71] The latter occurs in the Orphic-like cosmogony of pseudo-Epimenides (B 5 = F 6a, b Fowler), an author related to the Orphics, but does not seem to have been part of an early Orphic cosmogony. It may well have been derived from Anaximenes, for whom Aer was the primal element.[72] In Aristophanes, Aer probably owes its mention to the fact that it is birds that are speaking. Having set the stage, Aristophanes now pulls a surprising rabbit from his hat. Night, whose role as 'first of all beings' we already discussed, laid a wind-egg. The term was customarily used for infertile eggs laid without preceding copulation (Dunbar *ad loc.*), and is probably used here to indicate the absence of a husband for Night.[73] Once again we seem to have here an Egyptian element, since in Egypt the egg assumes a cosmic significance.[74] Admittedly, the egg is not attested in any other early Orphic text,[75] but it occurs both in the theogony of Pseudo-Epimenides (above) and in many later Orphic texts, such as the theogony of 'Hieronymus and Hellanicus' (*OF* 79). The egg may also have been mentioned in Aristophanes' comedy *Gerytades* (fr. 170),[76] and it certainly appears in the Phoenician cosmogonies that may have been sources for the Orphics:[77] its earlier Orphic existence can therefore hardly be doubted.

1995) 437–44; A. Bernabé, "Una cosmogonía cómica: Aristófanes, *Aves* 685ss.," in J.A. López Férez (ed.), *De Homero a Libanio. Estudios actuales sobre textos griegos* II (Madrid, 1995) 195–211.

[71] For an Indo-European parallel see M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 356.

[72] O. Kern, *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Berlin, 1888) 70; H. Demoulin, *Épiménide de Crète* (Brussels, 1901) 122; Kirk, Raven and Schofield, *Presocratic Philosophers*, 144–47.

[73] The other reasons adduced by Dunbar (*ad loc*.) seem a bit far-fetched.

[74] Dunand and Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Egypt*, 9–10, 50–1, 293.

[75] As is observed by J. Mansfeld, *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy* (London, 1989) Ch. XIV, 267, 291.

[76] Cf. A. Cassio, "L'uovo orfico e il Geritade di Aristofane (fr. 164 K.)," *Riv. Filol. It. Class*. 106 (1978) 28–31.

[77] West, "*Ab ovo*". For a possible echo of the egg in Christian hagiography see P. Boulhol, *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994) 282–4.

From Hesiod came Eros, and his birth from an egg confirms the already observed lack of parents (§ 1). His prominent position here is probably indebted to his increasingly important role in Greek culture. This is exemplified by Pherecydes (fr. 72–3), Parmenides (B 13), and Empedocles (B 17), whose thinking regularly approached that of the Orphics,[78] but also the Orphic tradition itself, as Pausanias (9.27.2) could still observe among the Attic Lykomids,[79] poets like Sappho (fr. 198), Aeschylus (fr. 44), and Euripides,[80] and the mythographer Acusilaus (*FGrH* 2 F 5 = F 6a,b Fowler). An Orphic origin, then, seems not impossible. The theo-cosmogonic function of Eros possibly derives from its function in rites of maturation: "the power of love, which maintained the social fabric of the civic community, likewise organised the ordering of things".[81]

With this cosmic role of Eros, Aristophanes' description has come to a close; more would probably have been boring to his public. We may wonder, though, what actually would have been so funny about this passage. First, of course, the application of cosmogony to ornithogony must have amused the audience. Second, playing with the traditional elements and the addition of bird motifs, such as giving wings to Chaos, would have solicited laughter. Third, we may wonder whether cosmogony as a genre did not always retain an air of strangeness for the average Greek. It was not supported by other traditions, and that is perhaps why Greek comedy made fun of ancient cosmogony, as we can also observe in Aristophanes' contemporary Cratinus (fr. 258).

The Greeks, then, happily borrowed from the great poems of the Ancient Near East, just like the Israelite priests that composed the beginning of *Genesis*. Yet we cannot conclude in this manner, since such quotations and allusions across cultures should not lead us to overlook the fact that they function in wholly different cultural con-

[78] C. Riedweg, "Orphisches bei Empedokles," *Antike und Abendland* 41 (1995) 34–59; C. Megino Rodríguez, *Orfeo y el Orfismo en la poesía de Empédocles* (Madrid, 2005).

[79] *OF* 20; Eur. *Hyps.* fr.758a.23; Ar. *Av.* 700.

[80] Eur. *Hyps.* 1106 (with Kannicht) = *OF* 65: a passage with an Orphic colouring.

[81] J. Rudhardt, *Le role d'Eros et d'Aphrodite dans les cosmogonies grecques* (Paris, 1986); G. Boys-Stones, "Eros in Government: Zeno and the Virtuous City," *CQ* 48 (1998) 168–74 (Eros among the Stoics); C. Calame, *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, 1999) 177–81 at 178 (quotation).

texts.[82] With regard to those functions, I would like to conclude with three observations.

First, whereas the great Mesopotamian poems *Atrahasis, Enuma elish, Erra* and *Gilgamesh* tend to view the universe as created, except for the gods, Greek tradition looks at the universe as the fruit of a family tree. However, unlike Mesopotamia and Israel, Greece is hardly interested in the creation of man, which is absent from Homer and Hesiod's *Theogony*; moreover, if human creation is mentioned at all, males are born but only woman is created. Even when taking over Near Eastern cosmogonies, the Greeks stuck to their old tradition about the genesis of man.

Secondly, the purpose of the creation narrative differs from culture to culture. In *Enuma elish* the poem's aim is to celebrate Marduk, whereas in *Genesis* the narrative hastily relates the creation in order to continue with the history of man. In Hesiod's *Theogony* the creation is the beginning of a much longer story about the rise to power of Zeus and the inception of his rule. In other words, even though Greece borrowed from the Near East, it used these cosmogonies rather differently, not only regarding their content but also their *Sitz im Leben*. Whereas in the Near East cosmogony was closely associated with ritual, Israel and Greece emancipated themselves in this respect, which may well have enabled the turn towards philosophy that we witness in ancient Greece.

Thirdly, the cosmogonic accounts in *Genesis* and Hesiod are already much more rationalized than the Near Eastern ones. The author of *Genesis* provides us with a rather systematic account of the universe that is far from the 'just so' stories of *Atrahasis* or *Enuma elish*. Moreover, he relates the creation already in prose, just as the first Greek philosophers marked their new beginning by writing in prose.[83] This systematizing aspect is also true for Hesiod, if to a somewhat lesser account. We have recently become used to problematising the relationship between *mythos*

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[82] As is well stressed by G.E.R. Lloyd, *Methods and problems in Greek science* (Cambridge, 1991) 278–98; J. Haubold, "Greek Epic: A Near Eastern Genre?," *Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc*. 48 (2002) 1–19; A. Bernabé, "Hittites and Greeks. Mythical Influences and Methodological Considerations," in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.), *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen—Externe Impulse* (Berlin, 2004) 291–310.

[83] A Laks, "Écriture, prose, et les débuts de la philosphie grecque," *Methodos* 1 (2001) 131–51 (I owe a copy of this article to the kindness of the author); C. Kahn, "Writing Philosophy: Prose and Poetry from Thales to Plato," in H. Yunis (ed.), *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2003) 139–61. In spite of the title, S. Goldhill, *The Invention of Greek Prose* (Oxford, 2002) does not discuss the invention of prose.

and *logos*,[84] and undoubtedly Hesiod has to be located on the side of *mythos*. Yet that does not mean that the philosophers were all on the side of *logos*. It would take some centuries before myth definitively lost out to philosophy, but in the increasingly reflective world of a literate Greece, mythical cosmogonies could no longer satisfy the intellectual needs of this inquisitive culture.[85] Even if only hesitatingly, the first steps were now set on the centuries long path to modern investigations not so much of the creation, but of the origin of heaven and earth and beyond.[86]

[84] See most recently R. Buxton (ed.), *From Myth to reason?* (Oxford, 1998); B. Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth* (Chicago and London, 1999) 3–18 ("The Prehistory of *Mythos* and *Logos*"); K. Morgan, *Myth and Philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato* (Cambridge, 2000) 15–45; F. Graf, "La génèse de la notion de mythe," in J.A. López Férez (ed.), *Mitos en la literatura griega arcaica y clásica* (Madrid, 2002) 1–15 at 2–6.

[85] For the importance of writing for the development of philosophy see now the stimulating observations of M.M. Sassi, "La naissance de la philosophie de l'esprit de la tradition," in Laks and Louguet, *Qu'est-ce que la Philosophie Présocratique?*, 55–81.

[86] I am most grateful for comments and information to Richard Buxton, Jacco Dieleman, Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Marten Stol, Eibert Tigchelaar and, especially, Bob Fowler, who also let me use his forthcoming commentary on the relevant sections of the Greek mythographers.

CHAPTER TWO

PANDORA OR THE CREATION OF A GREEK EVE

Where do we come from? Modern man is not the only culture to frequently pose this eternally fascinating question. The Greeks too had pondered the problem. In fact, they came up with rather different answers. Humankind could derive from ants, rocks, trees or earth.[1] These are perhaps the older solutions to the problem of man's origin, since they do not presuppose a specific geographical location. A younger solution located the first man or men in one's own hometown. The church father Hippolytus has handed down a number of such Greek *Urmänner*: Boeotian Alalkomeneus, Arcadian Pelasgos, Eleusinian Dysaules, Lemnian Kabiros, Pallenean Alkyoneus, the Cretan Kouretes and the Phrygian Korybantes.[2] These human ancestors clearly do not derive from comparable traditions: Pelasgos cannot be separated from the Pelasgoi, the people supposedly living in Greece before the actual Greeks;[3] Alalkomeneus must have been the eponymous ancestor of the Boeotian town of Alalkomenai,[4] and the Kouretes, Korybantes and Kabiros point to a background in initiation rituals.[5] Yet, despite these differences, they have one thing in common: they are limited to a specific location or people and they are all male. So, what about the first females? Did Greek tradition have nothing at all to tell about them?

This is certainly not the case. When in the second century AD the traveller Pausanias visited the Parthenon, on the plinth of Athena's

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[1] *Od.* 19.163; Hes. *Cat*. 205, 234; Asius fr. 8; *PMG* Adesp. 985; West on Hes. *Th.* 35, 187, 563 and *Op.* 145; Kassel and Austin on Pherekrates, *Myrmekanthropoi*; C. López Ruiz, "El dicho del árbol y la piedra. Sabiduría ancestral y árboles sagrados en Grecia arcaica y el Levante," in R. Olmos *et al*. (eds.), *Paraíso cerrado, jardín abierto* (Madrid, 2005) 103–24; M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 375f.

[2] Hippol. *Ref.* 5.7.3–7 ~ *PMG* Adesp. 985, cf. M. Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen. Ein Vergleich zwischen Griechenland und dem Alten Testament* (Berne, 1992) 136–43.

[3] K. Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (London and New York, 1989) 82–83; Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen*, 111–2; R.L. Fowler, "Pelasgians," in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis* (Oxford, 2003) 2–18.

[4] See also Steph. Byz. α 191 with Billerbeck; schol. *Il.* IV.8; *Et. Magnum* 546.

[5] See F. Graf, "Zwischen Autochthonie und Immigration: die Herkunft von Völkern in der alten Welt," in D. Clemens and T. Schabert (eds.), *Anfänge* (Munich, 1998) 65–93 at 82f.

statue he saw carved "the birth of Pandora. Hesiod and others say that Pandora was the first woman ever born, and the female sex did not exist before her birth" (1.24.7).[6] It is interesting that Pausanias refers by name only to Hesiod. And indeed, whenever later Greek authors refer to the source of the myth of Pandora, they only mention Hesiod.[7] Evidently, this was the canonical version. In recent years the place of the episode within its larger Hesiodic contexts has repeatedly been analysed and its socio-economic implications stressed,[8] but there is still room for some additional observations. We will therefore start our analysis with Hesiod's narration (§ 1),[9] continue with later literary, iconographical and philosophical representations (§ 2) look at the genealogical aspects (§ 3), and end with a few conclusions (§ 4).

1. *Hesiod's* Theogony *and* Works and Days

As the title of Hesiod's *Theogony* suggests, this poem, which it is perhaps safe to date from about 700 BC, begins with an account of the

[6] For differing suggestions regarding the meaning of Pandora in this context see L. Berczelly, "Pandora and the Panathenaia. The Pandora Myth and the Sculptural Decoration of the Parthenon," *Acta Arch. Artium Hist.* 7 (1992) 53–86; J.M. Hurwit, "Beautiful evil: Pandora and the Athena Parthenos," *Am. J. Arch.* 99 (1995) 171–86 and his *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles* (Cambridge, 2004) 235–45; O. Palagia, "Meaning and Narrative Techniques in Statue-Bases of the Pheidian Circle," in N.K. Rutter and B.A. Sparkes (eds.), *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 2000), 53–78 at 60–62. R. Osborne, "Representing Pandora," *Omnibus* 37 (1999) 13–4 intriguingly suggests that Pheidias was perhaps inspired by a kalyx krater of the Niobid painter, where on the first register Pandora stands almost in the center, facing front; see for this krater also E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora* (Baltimore, 1995) 282–4; F. Lissarrague, "Le fabrique de Pandora: naissance d'images," in J.-C. Schmitt (ed.), *Ève et Pandora* (Paris, 2001) 39–67 at 43f.

[7] Tert. *Cor.* 7.3; Or. *C.Celsum* 4.36; Eus. *PE.* 13.13.23, 14.26.13; Suda π 2472; Eust. on *Il.* XIV.175–86, XVI.175.

[8] Contexts: J.-P. Vernant, "À la table des hommes," in M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris, 1979) 37–132; F.I. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other* (Chicago, 1996) 53–86 = (abbreviated and adapted) "Signifying difference: the myth of Pandora," in R. Hawley and B. Levick (eds.), *Women in Antiquity: new assessments* (London and New York, 1995) 58–74; V. Pirenne-Delforge, "Prairie d'Aphrodite et jardin de Pandore. Le "féminin" dans la *Théogonie*," *Kernos*, Suppl. 11 (2001) 83–99; C. Calame, *Masks of authority: fiction and pragmatics in ancient Greek poetics* (Ithaca, 2005) 47–52. Socio-economic implications: F.I. Zeitlin, "The Economics of Hesiod's Pandora," in Reeder, *Pandora*, 49–56, whose equivalence of Pandora's jar with the uterus is unpersuasive.

[9] For translations and observations I am much indebted to the standard commentaries of M.L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966) and *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978); W.J. Verdenius, *A Commentary on Hesiod* Work and Days, *vv. 1–382* (Leiden, 1985).

origin of the gods and ends with a catalogue of goddesses, who bore children to mortal men, a prelude, so to speak, to the somewhat later pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which dates from about 580 BC.[10] The poem relates the coming into being of the present world and its order, over which Zeus presides. In the centre of this grand scheme Hesiod put the origin of sacrifice, fire and women, since these elements define the *condition humaine* after man's definitive separation from the world of the gods.[11]

Regarding sacrifice, Hesiod relates how the culture hero Prometheus, a son of a Titan with the curiously Hebrew sounding name Iapetos (Japheth?),[12] tried to deceive Zeus. Having slaughtered an ox, he set out meat and innards covered in skin and paunch for Zeus, but the bones covered with fat he put aside for the mortals. When Zeus protested at the unjust division of the portions, Prometheus invited him to choose between the two. Hesiod stresses that the god deliberately choose the wrong portion, and thus established the Greek sacrificial custom of allocating the bones of the victim to the gods, but themselves eating its meat (535–57).[13]

The abrupt introduction of the town Mekone (535–6), where the scene is located, and the fact that Zeus' wrong choice is explained as deliberate, "for he brooded evil in his mind for mankind" (551–2), strongly suggest that Hesiod revised a pre-existing tradition in which the supreme god had been deceived by the clever Prometheus.[14] Such a tradition probably also underlies the consequence of Prometheus' deceit. Feeling duped, Zeus refused to give fire to mankind, but Prometheus

[10] For the date of the *Catalogue* see most recently J.N. Bremmer, "Myth as Propaganda: Athens and Sparta," *ZPE* 117 (1997) 9–17 at 11; R.L. Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the Creation of the Hellenes," *Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.* 44 (1998) 1–19 at 1 note 4.

[11] This has been expounded best by J.-P. Vernant *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1974) 177–94 and "À la table des homes."

[12] For the name see M.L. West, *The East Face of Helikon* (Oxford, 1997) 289f.

[13] For Greek sacrifice see now F.T. van Straten, *Hierà kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden, 1996); N. Himmelman, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (Opladen, 1997); J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* (Münster, 2002); J.N. Bremmer, "Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice," in D. Ogden (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2007) 132–44.

[14] This has often been noticed, see, for example, P. Friedländer, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und Kunst* (Berlin, 1969) 65; West, *Hesiod: Theogony*, 321: "It has long been recognized that in the original story Zeus did not see through the trick, but was thoroughly deceived"; C. Faraone, *Talismans & Trojan Horses* (New York and Oxford, 1992) 100–2, whose comparison of Pandora with the Trojan Horse is hardly persuasive.

stole the fire by hiding it in a hollow stalk of fennel (561–9). Elsewhere in Greece, in Argos, the invention of fire was ascribed to Phoroneus, the first man who was also 'the father of mortal men'.[15] Given the often observed similarities with Indian myth, Martin West rightly concludes that we seem to deal here "with remnants of a Graeco-Aryan fire myth that had its place within a larger construct".[16] We would have loved to know what material Hesiod still had at his disposal in this respect, but will probably never know.

In reaction to this second defeat, Zeus "immediately made an evil for mankind" (570). On the basis of his plans, Hephaestus "fashioned from earth something resembling a modest virgin" (571–2). West comments that "the fashioning of a figure of clay is naturally attributed to a potter's god", but Hephaestus never occupies such a position: he is only the god of the smiths and metallurgical workers.[17] It is more likely that the poet combined the notice from the *Iliad* (XVIII.417–20) that Hephaestus made some golden servant-girls with perhaps an allusion to the Akkadian *Atrahasis* (I.2) where clay is used in the formation of man (see also below).[18] However, if that is the case, the poet did not simply take over the motif from the Near East, but he adapted it to his own culture, since earth is the primeval substance in Greek thought. After all, everything descends from the goddess Gaia.[19]

Subsequently, the goddess Athena "endowed her with life" (573), just as Jahweh blew life into Adam (*Genesis* 2.7)—a motif perhaps also taken over from the Near East. Athena also "dressed her with a silver dress" (573–4) and "drew down a wimple over Pandora's head and shoulders" (574–5), a common piece of clothing of Homeric women.[20] Finally, she put crowns of flowers of a "fresh-sprouting meadow" round her head (576–7). In archaic poetry, crowns of flowers are mentioned for Nymphs, Graces and Aphrodite (*Cypria* fr. 5 D/B), who are women in the bloom of beauty; for the same reason Sappho (fr. 94, 98) adorns her girls with

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[15] First man and 'father': *Phoronis* 1 D/B; Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 23A = 23A Fowler. Fire: Paus. 2.19.5.

[16] West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 273f.

[17] On Hephaestus see most recently A. Hermary and A. Jacquemin, "Hephaistos," in *LIMC* IV.1 (Zurich, 1988) 627–54; H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens. Supplement* (Mainz, 1995) 1–14; F. Graf, "Hephaistos," in *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998) 352–6, updated as "Hephaestus," in *Brill's New Pauly* 6 (2005) 140–3.

[18] So, persuasively, Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen*, 216f.

[19] See this volume, Chapter I, note 39.

[20] For this piece of garment see Janko on *Iliad* XIV.184.

floral crowns; in fact, she (fr. 81) even connects floral crowns with girls and Graces. To top it off, the goddess placed a headband, *stephanê*, on her head, which represented all kinds of wild creatures of land and sea, made by Hephaestus (578–84); similar funerary headbands have been found in eighth-century Athens and Euboean Eretria, where Hesiod may have seen them when he travelled to Chalcis to recite his poetry.[21] The *stephanê* made women look taller and thus helped them to conform to the contemporary beauty ideal of being 'beautiful and tall'.[22] There can be little doubt, then, that the purpose of Athena's 'exercise' was to make the first woman as attractive as possible. This conforms to the widespread Greek idea that beauty was typical of young women ready for marriage.[23] Hesiod thus has prepared the listener (or reader) for an oncoming marriage, since in archaic poetry and on vase-paintings type-scenes of adornment hardly ever occur outside the context of physical love.[24] And that is exactly what happens, if implicitly rather than explicitly, as we will see momentarily.

In this passage, then, the first woman is the fruit of cooperation between Athena and Hephaestus. The prominent position of Athena in this 'creation' is rather striking, since in general the goddess was not associated with marriage or the coming of age of girls. On the other hand, she was closely associated with Hephaestus in Athens: they were associated in myth, which related the birth of Athens' autochthonous ancestor Erichthonios from the only partially consummated union of the two divinities, and they had a communal temple;[25] Athena was worshipped with the epithet *Hêphaestia* (Hsch. η 983) and, last but not

[21] D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* (Berlin, 1953) 68–82.

[22] *Stephanê*: Ael. *VH* 1.18; M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin and New York, 1982) 34 note 49. Ideal: K. Jax, *Die weibliche Schönheit in der griechischen Dichtung* (Innsbruck, 1933) 9; W.J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* IV 4 (1949) 294–5; Russo on *Od.* 18.195.

[23] C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* (Lanham and London, 1997) 199.

[24] Poetry: Janko on *Il.* XIV.166–86, who compares *Od.* 8.362–6 and *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 58–66. Vase-paintings: J. Oakley and R. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, 1993) 16–20.

[25] Myth: *IG* I^3.82; Pl. *Prot.* 321d, *Tim.* 23c, *Crit.*109c; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.28.2–3. Erichthonios: U. Kron, "Erechtheus," in *LIMC* IV.1 (1988) 923–51; add J.H. Oakley, "A Calyx-Krater in Virginia by the Nikias Painter in Virginia with the Birth of Erichthonios," *Antike Kunst* 30 (1987) 123–30. Temple: Pl. *Leg.* 920d; Paus. 1.14.6; Aug. *Civ.*18.12; M. Fuchs, "Das Hephaesteion in Athen—ein Monument für die Demokratie," *JDAI* 113 (1998) 30–48.

least, Hephaestus' festival Chalkeia,[26] although there clearly was some discussion about which divinity was the recipient of this festival.[27] Given that this close connection of the two divinities existed only in Athens,[28] Hesiod may well have been influenced in some way here by a visit to Attica or, alternatively, in the course of the transmission of Hesiod's text Athenians may have inserted this *couleur locale*.

After her adornment, Athena led the first woman, 'the beautiful evil', forth to the place "where all the other gods and mortals were" (586). This seemingly unobtrusive line is in fact rather dramatic, since with the arrival of women man is no longer alone, but at the same time he no longer can share the company of the gods. Pandora rightly glories in the adornment of Athena and the gods are amazed at seeing this "irresistible deception against which men are helpless" (589). The scene is immediately closed with "for of her is the race of women" (590). This is the *gran finale*. We hear no more about the first woman, but in a subsequent, misogynistic passage Hesiod stresses female gluttony and wastefulness and thus leaves us in no doubt that the successful adornment by Athena had been utterly disastrous for the males (591–616).

In addition to the *Theogony*, Hesiod also treated the theme of the first woman and her prehistory in his *Works and Days*.[29] The swindle over sacrifice is only alluded to in passing (48), and the section of the fire is only marginally more elaborate (49–59), but the birth of Pandora receives about equal attention as in the *Theogony* (60–105). At first sight it might seem strange that the poet first enumerates in some detail the orders of Zeus to various divinities as how to make the first woman before proceeding to their execution (60–8). Yet Near Eastern creation myths contain the same structure and may eventually have been Hesiod's model.[30]

Zeus, then, once again orders Hephaestus to fashion the first woman, but now with earth and water (60–1). This procedure is clearly somewhat closer to the *Atrahasis*, where man is formed by mixing clay with the blood and flesh of a killed divinity (I.4). Moreover, unlike in the *Theogony*,

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[26] For its possibly alternative name Athenaia see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 462f.

[27] Cf. Phanodemus *FGrH* 325 F 18; Apollonius *FGrH* 365 F 3; but also note *IG* II² 674.930.

[28] Although note the combination in *Od.* 6.233, 23.160.

[29] B. Wolkow, "The Mind of a Bitch: Pandora's Motive and Intent in the *Erga*," *Hermes* 135 (2007) 247–62.

[30] Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen*, 215.

Hephaestus presumably also had to make the model alive, since he had to give her strength, the faculty of human speech and looks like those of goddesses (61–3). Although her beauty is thus stressed, she still was not a polished *debutante*, since Athena was ordered to teach her the "works (*erga*): to weave a richly wrought web" (64). Already in Homer, Athena was the goddess *par excellence* of spinning and weaving, *the* symbols of decent women's industry. In fact, this was so evident that Homer can refer to these activities by just saying *erga* (*Il.* IX.390), and Athena was indeed widely worshipped with the epithet *Ergane*, 'Workwoman'.[31] 'Golden Aphrodite' had to pour charm, which the Greeks sometimes imagined as a kind of cream,[32] over her head, as is to be expected from the goddess of physical beauty. Finally, Hermes had to put "an impudent (literally: dog-like) way of thinking and a habit of deceiving" (67) into her. Like the author of *Genesis*, in his *Theogony* Hesiod had still limited himself to the exterior, but in the *Works* he shows an increasing interest in people's mental powers and dispositions.[33] Once again Hesiod has selected a god fit for his task. Hermes was the 'comrade of thieves' (Hipponax fr. 3a W(est)^2 = 2 D(egani)^2) and the god of trickery.[34] As in the *Theogony*, the poet concludes by stressing that underneath their beautiful appearance women mean trouble to man.

From a literary point of view it would have hardly been satisfactory if the poet had only slightly varied his earlier lines. Instead, the poet more satisfactorily puts in a few surprises.[35] Hephaestus now makes the first woman from earth and water instead of just earth as in the *Theogony* (60–1). In the case of Athena, Hesiod repeats line 573 from the *Theogony* (72) without going into detail about the exact nature of her adornment: it would surely have stretched the imagination if he had let the first woman weave or spin at this very moment. Instead of Aphrodite, he introduces other goddesses connected with erotic charms: Graces, Peitho and the Horai (73–5). The Graces and Peitho adorned her skin with golden necklaces because, as the ancient commentator (on 74) perceptively observes, "the woman, finely adorned, quickly persuades

[31] F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 210–2; *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* II (Göttingen, 1991) s.v. *ergon*, 3b.

[32] Verdenius, *A Commentary*, 51.

[33] Verdenius, *A Commentary*, 67.

[34] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 156–9.

[35] *Contra* Verdenius, *A Commentary*, 55 who explains the variation by assuming "the influence of writing on the technique of oral composition".

the man to have sex".[36] Necklaces were the traditional instruments of erotic enticement. Women put them on to seduce men, as in the case of Aphrodite and Anchises (*Hymn to Aphrodite* 5), and men corrupted women by giving them as presents, as in the case of Eriphyle.[37] The Horai crowned her with spring flowers, just as in the *Cypria* (fr. 4 D/B) the Graces and Horai dress Aphrodite in a garment dyed with spring flowers.[38] After Athena had added the finishing touch, thus resuming her role in the *Theogony*, Hermes finally presented her with women's bad qualities, a resounding voice and a name, which she, intriguingly, did not receive in the *Theogony* (77–81).

Before coming to the name, let us make one final observation about the composition of Hesiod, who, as we have seen, lets each divinity contribute a quality or object according with its nature. The immediate model may have been a scene in the *Odyssey* (20.70–2) where the daughters of Pandareos also receive gifts characteristic of their divine donors, like height from Artemis and beauty from Hera. It is also possible, though, that behind both scenes there is a Near Eastern model, since in a New Babylonian myth of the beginning of the first millennium BC, after the creation of normal humans the first king is created by having the various gods donate the qualities fitting to a king, like Anu the crown, Nergal the weapons and Belet-ili a handsome appearance.[39]

So what about the first woman's name? Hermes calls her "Pandora because all (*pantes*) Olympian gods gave her as a present (*dôron*), namely as a bane to barley eating males" (81–2). The name Pandora is formally parallel to the Iliadic girls' name Polydore (XVI.178), which means 'She who brings in many gifts', since in archaic Greece the bride's father gave his daughter many presents in order to show off his wealth and to

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[36] On the connection between Aphrodite and the Graces see Johansen and Whittle on Aesch. *Supp.* 1039–40; H. Sichterman, "Gratiae," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 203–10. Peitho and Aphrodite: R.G.A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1983) 30–3 and *passim*; N. Icard-Gianolio, "Peitho," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 242–50. For the absence of a real cult of Peitho note Archippus fr. 46. For the gold see also A.S. Brown, "Aphrodite and the Pandora complex," *CQ* 47 (1997) 26–47.

[37] See the fine observations in Buxton, *Persuasion*, 36–7; Hes. fr. 141.4 (?).

[38] For the erotic associations of the Horai see Headlam on Herondas 7.94–5; Diod. Sic. 5.73.6; L. Robert, *Hellenica* I (Paris, 1946) 15–6 and XIII (Paris, 1965) 118; V. Machaira, "Horai," in *LIMC* V.1 (1991) 502–10.

[39] R. Mayer, "Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs," *Orientalia* 56 (1987) 55–68; for more examples, West, *East Face*, 310f.

seal the alliance with the family of his son-in-law.[40] Yet Hesiod clearly etymologises Pandora's name as 'Present of all the gods'. This Hesiodic interpretation already caused some confusion in antiquity, since an ancient commentator on line 79 of our passage wonders whether she got her name "since she received presents from all or since she was a present of all the gods". The latter interpretation is supported by the context and the late antique Fulgentius (*Myth.* 2.6), but the first possibility was endorsed by Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.637–8, *Fab.* 142), Tertullian (*Cor.* 7.3), the late antique Olympiodorus in his commentary on Plato's *Gorgias* (48.7.6) and the scholiast on Hesiod's *Works* 71. Eustathius moved even somewhat further away from a literal translation and came up with "because she received many presents" (on *Il.* II.339, III.830).

On the other hand, Philo's 'She who gives all things' (*De aet. mundi* 63) is also a formal possibility, since Euphorion equally took the name to be active, given his expression *Pandôra kakodôros* (*SH* 415 C ii.1). The same possibility may already be present in a corrupt passage of Hipponax (104.48 W^2 = 107.48 D^2), which seems to mention the sacrifice of a certain Pandora during the Thargelia festival. As Anacreon (446) calls a prostitute *pandosia*, 'she who gives it all', it has been attractively suggested that Hipponax here playfully conjures up the name of a 'generous' harlot.[41]

It would be a misunderstanding of ancient etymological practice to suggest that some of these interpretations are necessarily wrong. On the contrary, unlike modern scientific approaches, the ancients often played with the various qualities evoked by the lexemes into which a name can be broken down, as in our case 'all' and 'gift'. Authors were less interested in the philological truth, but they liked to play with the syntactical and semantic associations of a name. The name Pandora, then, could mean different things to different authors, depending on the context of their narrative or argument.[42]

Having completed the first woman, on the order of Zeus Hermes brought her into the house of Epimetheus, the brother of Zeus' opponent Prometheus. The clever Prometheus advised him to decline the divine present, but Epimetheus accepted it nonetheless. West (on *Works*

[40] *Il.* VI.394, XXII.88; *Od.* 24.294; E. Scheid-Tissinier, *Les usages du don chez Homère* (Nancy, 1994) 104f.

[41] Cf. H. Degani, *Hipponax* (Stuttgart, 1991²) 117.

[42] On this problem see the lucid observations by C. Calame, *The Craft of Poetic Speech in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca and London, 1995) 174–85.

86–7) observes that it is "a commonplace of storytelling that someone gets into trouble because he forgets or disregards a timely warning". This is true, but does not go far enough. As in *Genesis*, man has had the opportunity to retain the primeval situation of staying in the company of the gods (God), but his own feeble-mindedness is the cause of his present unhappy situation.

Hesiod concludes his account of the creation of Pandora by illustrating her fatal folly. Whereas humans lived without evils, diseases and the obligation to work until her arrival (90–2), Pandora lifted the lid off a large storage jar (*pithos*), which Erasmus in his *Adagia* (I.31, 235) wrongly interpreted as a 'box', thus giving rise to the expression 'Pandora's box'.[43] All evils flew away, but Pandora quickly closed the lid and *elpis* had to remain inside (96–8).[44] As the ancient scholiast on line 94 shows, antiquity already wondered about the exact meaning of this *elpis*, just as many modern scholars. In an early interpretation, Theognis opted for 'good hope' (1135), but this meaning is hardly appropriate, since the previous lines only speak of bad things for mankind and the context stresses the revenge of Zeus. In the most lucid discussion of the problem, my compatriot Verdenius has therefore strongly argued that the context of a company of evils requires the equally possible meaning 'expectation of evil', not that of 'good hope'.[45] Yet, however satisfactory this solution may be from a logical point of view, the problem remains that the 'expectation of evil' was of course not absent from the ancient Greek world. One may see this 'puzzling, provocative ambiguity' as the very power of this myth, but such a point of view is perhaps too modern.[46] As no wholly convincing solution has been offered so far,[47]

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[43] D. and E. Panofsky, *Pandora's Box* (London, 1962[2]); R. Kannicht, "Pandora," in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Antike Mythen in der europäischen Tradition* (Tübingen, 1999) 127–51 at 134–6.

[44] For possible representations see M. Oppermann, "Pandora," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 163–6 at 164 no. 5; J. Neils, "The Girl in the *Pithos*: Hesiod's Elpis," in J. Barringer and J. Hurwit (eds.), *Periklean Athens and Its Legacy* (Austin, 2005) 37–45.

[45] Verdenius, *A Commentary*, 66–71.

[46] *Contra* R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 212–3.

[47] See more recently Vernant, "À la table des hommes," 114–32; S. Noica, "La boîte de Pandore et l'ambiguité de l'Elpis," *Platon* 36 (1984) 100–24; A. Spira, "Angst und Hoffnung in der Antike," in F.R. Harwig (ed.), *Ainigma. Festschrift für Helmut Rahn* (Heidelberg, 1987) 129–81; J.-P. Vernant, "Les semblances de Pandora," in F. Blaise *et al.* (eds.), *Le métier du mythe* (Lille, 1996) 381–92; R. Lauriola, "Elpis e la giara di Pandora (Hes. Op. 90–104): il bene e il male nella vita dell'uomo," *Maia* 52 (2000) 9–18; I. Musäus, *Der Pandoramythos bei Hesiod und seine Rezeption bis Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Göttingen, 2004); L. Warman, "Hope in a Jar," *Mouseion* III.4 (2004) 107–19; J. Krajczynski

the feeling remains that the poet did not completely successfully integrate an existing story with perhaps a different moral.[48] The abrupt introduction of the *pithos* could indeed point in that direction, as does the explanation of Pandora's name, which is surely forced and fits only this version of the story: only in the *Odyssey* (18.134) do we find once more the idea that the gods collectively inflict evil on men. A positive interpretation of Pandora's quick reaction at least finds a parallel in the version of the *Theogony*, where woman can still be useful in lifting male loneliness and producing an heir to tend him in old age. The, admittedly, relatively rare, occurrences of Pandora as the name for a ship and for women seem to support this interpretation: Hesiod's misogynism is not absolute, but somewhat mitigated.[49]

We do not know whether Hesiod derived this passage from an earlier version or adapted an existing independent tale. In any case, the motif of the imprisonment of evil in jars seems to derive ultimately from Hittite magical ritual, in which harm and evil are locked up in closed vessels.[50] However this may be, the moral of the story is clear, since the poet concludes with the words: "so we see the principle confirmed that it is impossible to deceive the purposeful intelligence of Zeus" (105).[51]

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and W. Rösler, "Die Substanz der Hoffnung: Zum Pandora-Mythos in Hesiods Erga," *Philologus* 150 (2006) 14–27.

[48] According to W. Oldfather, "Pandora," in *RE* XVIII.2 (1949) 529–48 at 539, this 'alte Sage' was preserved 'am reinsten' in Babrius 58, but this overlooks the fact that we have no idea what the *Urfassung* was. For Babrius' version see also J. Rudhardt, "Pandora: Hésiode et les femmes," *MH* 43 (1986) 231–46.

[49] Ship: *IG* II² 1611.b.115 and c.163, 1622.b.231, 1631.d.479. Women: *IG* XIV.2054; *I. Prusa* 1059 (= *SEG* 42.1119); *TAM* III.702; *P. Giss.* I 117.181 (the same woman as in *P. Flor.* I 71.403); H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, 3 vols (Berlin and New York, 2003²) I.555. Note also the name Pandôros: *IG* II² 2124.42.

[50] As was first argued by M. Popko, *Meander* 27 (1972) 381–3 (in Polish), cf. V. Haas, "Ein hurritischer Blutritus und die Deponierung der Ritualrückstände nach hethitischen Quellen," in B. Janowski *et al.* (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1993) 68–85 at 77–83; West, *East Face*, 311. For the reception of the idea see K. Horálek, "Geist im Glas," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 5 (1987) 922–8.

[51] For unpersuasive interpretations of the Elpis episode see E.F. Beall, "The Contents of Hesiod's Pandora Jar: Erga 94–98," *Hermes* 117 (1989) 227–30; D. Ogden, "What was in Pandora's box?," in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence* (London and Swansea, 1998) 213–30.

2. *Literary, iconographical and philosophical representations*

The myth of Pandora was not particularly popular in antiquity and we have only a few later literary versions or representations on vase paintings.[52] Sappho (fr. 207) seems to have used the Hesiodic material and Aeschylus (fr. 369) at least alluded to it. However, Sophocles actually wrote a satyr play *Pandora or the Hammerers*, of which a few fragments have survived. They speak about the kneading of clay (fr. 482), drinking from a horn and a soft arm (of Pandora?: fr. 483), 'lewd handling' (fr. 484), 'chamber pot' (fr. 485) and 'awl' (fr. 486). Moreover, from a scholion on *Works* 89 we learn that Prometheus received the jar from the satyrs and gave it to Epimetheus, which probably also derives from the play, if possibly indirectly. These *membra disiecta* seem to suggest that Sophocles followed the text of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, with the addition of the common themes of sex, boozing and scatology of satyric drama, but such a conclusion could be too hasty.

From about 470–450 BC we have various vases which display scenes from the Pandora myth, sometimes with satyrs, thus indicating a firm *terminus ante quem* for Sophocles' play. The oldest one displays Pandora with a kind of *stephanê* in between Athena, who seems to arrange her clothes, and Hephaestus, who holds a hammer in his left hand. However, above Pandora we read the name Anesidora.[53] This is rather puzzling, since the name, 'She who sends up gifts', is attested as epithet of Demeter and in antiquity was already rightly explained from her sending up the fruits from the earth;[54] indeed, the verb *anhienai* is often employed, especially in comedy, of the dead who send up the goods from the underworld.[55] Admittedly, any explanation can only be speculative, but a possible clue derives from the combination of a redfigure volute krater from Oxford of *ca.* 450 BC with a redfigure krater from Ferrara of *ca*. 445 BC. On the first we see Pandora rising from the ground, dressed as a bride, and Epimetheus with a hammer in his right hand running towards her, whereas on the second vase

[52] For a few (possible) representations of Pandora in Italy see J. Boardman, "Pandora in Italy," in P. Linant de Bellefonds *et al.* (eds.), *Agathos daimôn: mythes et cultes: études d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kahil* (Athens, 2000) 49–56.

[53] Oppermann, "Pandora," 164, no. 1, also represented and discussed in Reeder, *Pandora*, 279–81; Lissarrague, "La fabrique de Pandora," 40–2; Parker, *Polytheism*, 423f.

[54] Soph. fr. 826, 1010.

[55] See A. Henrichs, "Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus: Zur Ambivalenz der chthonischen Mächte im attischen Drama," in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds.), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991) 161–201 at 199.

painting satyrs with hammers in their hand stand and move around Epimetheus (or Prometheus?) and Pandora, who rises from the ground, again dressed as a bride.[56] Is it possible that, in a complete reversal of Hesiod's interpretation, Sophocles' play represented the arrival of Pandora among men as a very happy event? Can the vase painter have indicated this change by substituting the name Anesidora for Pandora? We will probably never know for sure, but the possibility may perhaps be taken into consideration.

Arisophanes probably alluded to the Pandora myth in his *Birds* (1537–43) of 414 BC,[57] but we find a fuller treatment in the comedy *Pandora* of the Athenian Nikophon around 400 BC (fr. 13–8). We hear of weaving (fr. 13), fish (fr. 14) a candle (fr. 15), a kiss (fr. 17) and young men (fr. 18). Sex, food and women are common elements of Old and Middle Comedy and these few snippets do not help us to reconstruct the plot even in a rough outline. In the second half of that century, Palaephatus (34) suggested that Pandora was not created from earth but in reality a wealthy woman that made herself up with earth. In this rationalising account we can still recognise the beautifying of Pandora and her creation from earth in Hesiod.

Athenian historians related how the daughters of the first king Erechtheus gave themselves to be sacrificed for the sake of the city, a fairly well-known scapegoat pattern in Greek mythology.[58] For us it is interesting to note that these girls were called Pandora and Protogeneia. It seems that these names were a feeble Athenian attempt to also put in a claim for the first woman.[59] In Greek mythology the daughter(s) of the primeval king, such as the Proitids, Io, Auge and the Danaids, is (are) sometimes the model for all future maidens,[60] and we might find a trace of this idea here as well.

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[56] Reeder, *Pandora*, 284–6; Lissarrague, "La fabrique de Pandora," 48–52; M. Vidale, "La cassa perduta. Una soluzione per la figurazione dell'anfora nolana F 147 al British Museum, e nuove difficoltà," *Ostraka* 11 (2002) 243–55.

[57] J. Holzhausen, "Pandora und Basileia. Hesiod-Rezeption in Aristophanes' 'Vögeln'," *Philologus* 146 (2002) 34–45, whose interpretation is accepted by Musäus, *Der Pandoramythos bei Hesiod*, 104–6.

[58] For all sources and a discussion see E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989) 61–3, 202; this volume, Chapter X, section 3.1.

[59] Oldfather, "Pandora," 530 also adduces Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 10, but as Jacoby (*ad loc.*) already saw, Pandora is a corruption of Pandrosos; see now also Theodoridis on Photius ε 1490, 1496; *IG* II^2 1039.58.

[60] K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (London and New York, 1989) 71–3, 124, 133, 147–8.

In Hellenistic Egypt, or perhaps even before, Pandora became equated, it seems, with Rhea, as seen from a quotation of the third-century BC Dionysius Scythobrachion (fr. 6) in Diodorus Siculus (3.57.3) that the two oldest daughters of King Ouranos of the Atlantions were called "Basileia and Rhea, whom some also named Pandora". The quotation returns in, of all places, Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (2.2.37), but we have no further information as to who these 'some' are in this euhemerizing myth.[61]

The last notable treatment of Pandora is in Irenaeus' discussion of the Valentinians in his *Adversus haereses*.[62] According to him (2.14.5), these gnostics made the Saviour into a kind of Pandora by letting each of the Aeons give him the best he had. Elsewhere, he compares gnostic *Pan* (*Omnia*) with Pandora, as being the fruit of a gift of all the Aeons and he quotes the line from Hesiod's *Works* where Hermes put into Pandora 'wily ideas and a thievish disposition' in order to show that these heretics "would seduce fools so that they would believe their figments of the imagination" (2.21.2).

3. *The genealogy of Pandora*

How was Pandora integrated into Greek mythological genealogy? Although Hesiod does not say so, it was a logical step to make the first proper human couple, Epimetheus and Pandora, into the parents of Pyrrha or even into both survivors of the Flood. This indeed has happened in a considerable part of our tradition.[63] On the other hand, Pandora could be equally thought of as the daughter of Pyrrha (Eust. on *Il.* I.39) There may have been a competing version of the first humans, since the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 2) lets Pandora and Prometheus, not Epimetheus, be the parents of Deukalion. However, this passage is considered corrupt by many,[64] since it is exceedingly odd that Prometheus, and not his daft brother, should take Pandora to wife in a work that purports to continue the original Hesiodic account (and once did). The version perhaps reflects an older tradition, since

[61] J.S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Opladen, 1982) 102–12.
[62] Note also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 2.30.4.
[63] Pyrrha: Apollod. 1.7.2; Hyg. *Fab*. 142; schol. Hes. *Op*. 85; schol. Pind. *O*. 9.79–81; schol. Pl. *Tim.* 22a. Deukalion and Pyrrha: schol. Hes. *Op*. 156, 158.
[64] For an unconvincing defence see P. Dräger, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenkatalogen Hesiods* (Stuttgart, 1997) 27–42.

Prometheus seems to have been a much more important hero than the shadowy Epimetheus; from the late fifth century onwards he was even considered to be the creator of mankind.[65] Curiously, the *Catalogue* (fr. 5) also mentions a Pandora as daughter of Deukalion, who was the mother of Graikos, the ancestor of the northern tribe that gave the Greeks its present name. If this is not a corruption of the text, this Pandora must have been called after her grandmother in a somewhat clumsy attempt to incorporate the Graikoi also in this genealogy. In any case, it clearly connects Pandora with northern Greece.

Even if the various traditions clearly play with the names of the protagonists in different combinations, Pandora and Pyrrha remain fixed features of these genealogies. Now, as we will see in Chapter VI, the story of the Flood was indigenous to Locris, but 'kidnapped' by Thessaly, since the name of Deukalion's wife Pyrrha or Pyrrhaia is also a name for Thessaly.[66] In this respect a notice by Strabo is highly informative. In his description of Thessaly he tells us that the southern part of Thessaly was called Pandora (9.5.23); the name derives, I presume, from its fertility, since we know that poets called the earth, as Philo says, "mother of all, fruitbearing and giver of all" (*pandôran*).[67] West concluded that the first human couple therefore must have been Prometheus and Pandora. This does not seem very likely. Prometheus has no ancient connections with Thessaly, but his roots lie in Central Greece, as is also shown by the location of the match between Prometheus and Zeus in Sicyon.[68] It seems more convincing to suppose that, as was the case with Deukalion, Thessaly had also kidnapped Prometheus and coupled him with a local heroine, perhaps Thessaly's

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[65] Ar. *Av.* 686; Pl. *Prot.* 320d; Philemon fr. 93 and *PCG* Adespota fr. 1047; Men. fr. 508; Her. Pont. fr. 66ab; Call. fr. 493; Herondas 2.28; Hor. *C.* 1.16.13–6; Paus. 10.4.4. For Late Antiquity see H. Kaiser-Minn, *Die Erschaffung des Menschen auf den spätantiken Monumenten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts* = *Jahrb. Ant. Christ.*Erg. 6 (Münster, 1981); add now *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XXV.16 (a fourth-century wax tablet with an alphabetic acrostic on Prometheus' creation of mankind); J. Balty and F. Briquel Chatonnet, "Nouvelles mosaïques inscrites d'Osrhoène," *Monuments et Mémoires* 79 (2000) 31–72 at 39–41; G. Bowersock, "Notes on the New Edessene Mosaic of Prometheus," *Hyperboreus* 7 (2001) 411–6.

[66] See this volume, Chapter VI, section 2; Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking," 11.

[67] Philo, *De opif. mundi* 133; note also Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 10 *v.l.*; Opp. *Cyn.* 1.12; *Vita Herodotea* 249; Homer, *Ep.* 7.1; Philostr. *VA* 6.39; Stob. *Anth.* 1.5.3; Hsch. π 334; schol. on Ar. *Av.* 971.

[68] For Prometheus see most recently P. Pisi, *Prometeo nel culto attico* (Rome, 1990); S.R. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," *MH* 51 (1994) 129–49; J.-R. Gisler, "Prometheus," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 531–53.

first woman. As with the story of the Flood, then, the powerful position of Thessaly in the seventh century also had influenced the content of the myth of the first woman. The hidden agenda behind this manipulation of myth is clear: eventually, the whole of Greece was not autochthonous as many local communities claimed to be, but descended from Thessalian ancestors.[69]

4. *Conclusion*

What can we conclude from this discussion? First, the myth of Pandora probably originated in Thessaly, reflecting that area's powerful position in seventh-century Greece. Secondly, unlike older Greek *Urmänner*, Pandora's genealogy already transcends the bounds of a single community and she is the ancestress of the whole Greek world. However, in this respect the Israelites were already more advanced, since Eve is the "mother of all living things" (*Genesis* 3.20). Both communities, though, had overcome the thinking of their source of inspiration, the Ancient Near East, which told myths only about a first male.

Finally, like the male Israelites, the male Greeks ascribed the source of their present sorrow state to the creation of woman. Whereas before, men had shared the table of the gods, they now had to work for a living. Even though the arrival of woman was not totally bad, her contribution to the present state of the *condition humaine* was in their eyes not a particularly felicitous one. As such, these myths are just one more example of the eternally difficult relationship between the sexes.[70]

[69] For Thessaly's prominence and active genealogical manipulation see Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking," 11–15.

[70] For various suggestions and corrections I am most grateful to Bob Fowler and André Lardinois.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BIRTH OF PARADISE

The first chapters of *Genesis* mention a landscaped, enclosed park, full of fruit-trees, planted by God himself, with a river running through it and pedestrian pathways. The translators of the *Septuagint* have called this park *paradeisos*.[1] The enormous impact of the Biblical description of Paradise has been often studied and its main lines are now well known.[2] Less familiar is the development of the term 'paradise' itself. Recent studies are not very informative in this respect. According to the well-known Old Testament scholar Joachim Jeremias (1900–1979), *paradeisos* is an Old Iranian ('Altiranisches') loan word which first means 'tree garden, park' and is subsequently used to denote the Garden of Eden as '*Gottesgarten*' in order to distinguish it from profane parks.[3] Although his explanation, which is representative of most modern approaches to the problem, is not totally wrong, it is not fully correct either. In order to provide a more exact answer to this question I will look at the term in the early Achaemenid period (§ 1), the later Achaemenid period (§ 2), its development in the post-Achaemenid era (§ 3), and conclude with a discussion as to why the translators of *Genesis* opted for this specific word to translate the Hebrew term *Gan Eden* (§ 4).

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[1] The basis of any investigation of the term must now be the rich studies of C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart, 1996) 80–131 ("The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire"), to which I am much indebted; see also A. Hultgård, "Das Paradies: vom Park des Perserkönigs zum Ort der Seligen," in M. Hengel *et al.* (eds.), *La cité de dieu = Die Stadt Gottes* (Tübingen, 2000) 1–43; J.P. Brown, *Israel and Hellas* III (Berlin and New York, 2001) 119–51; P. Briant, "À propos du roi-jardinier: remarques sur l'histoire d'un dossier documentaire," in W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *A Persian perspective. Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg* = Achaemenid History XIII (Leiden, 2003) 33–49; M. Subtelny, "The Tale of the Four Sages who Entered the *Pardes*. A Talmudic Enigma from a Persian Perspective," *Jewish Stud. Quart.* 11 (2004) 3–50. The implicit enclosure of *Genesis* is made explicit in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 17.1; *bKetubbot* 77b; *bShabbath* 119b; *Vita Adam* 31.2, 40.2.

[2] See especially J. Delumeau, *Une histoire du paradis*, 2 vols (Paris, 1992–95) = *History of paradise: the Garden of Eden in myth and tradition*, tr. M. O'Connell (New York, 1995); Ch. Auffarth, *Irdische wege und himmlischer Lohn* (Göttingen, 2002) 36–72; A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago, 2006).

[3] J. Jeremias, "*paradeisos*," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* V (1954) 763–71.

1. *The early Achaemenid era*

The etymology of Greek *paradeisos* is not disputed. It most likely derives from Median **paridaiza*, 'enclosure', **pari* being 'around' and **daiza* 'wall'.[4] As often, the Greeks took their words from the Medes rather than from the Persians,[5] just as, e.g., Greek *satrapês* is the Median form of this Iranian title.[6] Like its Old Persian equivalent **paridaida*,[7] the Median form is not attested in the few Old Persian texts that survive, and it is unlikely that it will ever turn up in Median writings, since the Medes seem never to have developed a script; however, the Median form does recur in the later Avestan *Videvdad* (3.18) as *paridaiza*.

The occurrence of such a Median term as a loanword in Greek,[8] and, as we soon shall see, Akkadian, Hebrew and Aramaic, is one more testimony to the influence of the enigmatic Medes. The tribe itself has left very little traces and its early history is hard to reconstruct,[9] but the fact that the Greeks called their formidable Eastern opponents first Medes and only later Persians, attests to their former importance; similarly, the Jews speak of Medes in *Isaiah* (13.17, 21.2) and *Jeremiah* (51.1, 28), but of Medes and Persians only in the post-exilic books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Daniel*.[10] The increasing attention to linguistic derivations, which has become possible with the growing insight into the Median and Persian dialects, will perhaps shed more light on this problem in the future.

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[4] For other examples of Iranian *-ai-* into Greek *-ei-* see most recently R. Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme in den erhaltenen Resten von Ktesias' Werk* (Vienna, 2006) 132, 284.

[5] For the Median language see R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden, 1989) 87–90 ('Medisch'); M. Mayrhofer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1979–96) II.390–2; R. Schmitt, "Die Sprache der Meder—eine grosse Unbekannte," in G.B. Lanfranchi *et al.* (eds.), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia* (Padua, 2003) 23–36.

[6] R. Schmitt, "Der Titel 'Satrap'," in A. Morpurgo-Davies and W. Meid (eds.), *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to L.R. Palmer* (Innsbruck, 1976) 373–90; J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris, 1983) 98f.

[7] P. Lecoq, "Paradis en vieux-perse?," in F. Vallat (ed.), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990) 209–11.

[8] For another example see A. Willi, "Old Persian in Athens Revisited (Ar. *Ach.* 100)," *Mnemosyne* IV 57 (2004) 657–81 at 671f.

[9] See now Lanfranchi, *Continuity of Empire (?)*; C. Tuplin, "Medes in Media, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia: Empire, Hegemony, Domination or Illusion?," *Ancient West & East* 3 (2004) 223–51.

[10] D.F. Graf, "Medism," *JHS* 104 (1984) 15–30; C. Tuplin, "Persians as Medes," in A. Kuhrt and M. Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 8 (Leiden, 1994) 235–56 at 236–8 also discusses the occurrence of Medes in other languages.

If its linguistic and etymological background is clear, the precise semantics of the term are more problematic. Given the absence of early Iranian material we will have to consider instead its use as loanword in more or less contemporary Akkadian and Elamite texts in order to reconstruct its meaning in the oldest period of the multicultural Persian empire. We start with the Babylonian texts. Almost immediately after the Persian capture of Babylon in 539 we find three Babylonian documents of the last decades of the sixth century,[11] in which temple authorities are responsible for maintaining and establishing *pardesu*. One of these is a vineyard, another is associated with planting date palms and making bricks, and a loan document of 465/4 BC mentions an 'upper *pardesu*' (i.e. at the upper side).[12]

We find more information in only slightly later Elamite texts. After the fall of the Elamite empire in the seventh century, the Persians settled on its former territory and kept Elamite as the official language of their bureaucracy in Persis until about 460. In the thirties of this century, excavators found hundreds of clay tablets in Elamite in Persepolis which, depending on their place of finding, were published as *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (*PTT*) and *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (*PFT*).[13] The former, 114 in all, can be dated to the period between 492 and 460 BC, when clay was probably given up in favour of parchment. From the latter more than 2000 have now been published, belonging to the years between 510 and 494 BC. It is especially in the *PFT*, which have been identified as tax-receipts,[14] that we regularly find mention

[11] For the Persian influence in Babylon see A. Kuhrt, "Achaemenid Babylonia: Sources and Problems," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 4 (Leiden, 1990) 177–94; F. Joannès, "La situation de la Babylonie dans l'Empire perse," *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997) 279–86.

[12] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 22.198is (Sippar: early Cyrus), which is perhaps the same as that in J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890) 212 (Sippar: 534 BC); *Yale Oriental Series* 3.133 (Uruk: 539/526 BC), cf. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 113; M.W. Stolper, *Entrepeneurs and Empire* (Istanbul, 1985) 283 no. 120 (= *CBS* 13039: Nippur: 465/4 BC). For these texts see M. Dandamayev, "Royal *paradeisoi* in Babylonia," *Acta Iranica* II 9 (Leiden, 1984) 113–7. It is interesting that a country *Pardesu* is mentioned in a late writing exercise (probably *ca*. 85 BC), cf. T.G. Pinches, "Assyriological gleanings," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch*. 18 (1896) 250–7, after p. 256, Plate III, AH 83–1–18, 1866 Reverse Column V.15–7.

[13] For the standard editions see G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948) and "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury," *JNES* 24 (1965) 167–92; R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969) and "Selected Fortification Texts," *Cahiers de la Délégation Française en Iran* 8 (1978) 106–36.

[14] H. Koch, "Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis?," *Zs. f. Assyriologie* 70 (1980) 105–37.

of something called *partetas*, which the authoritative Elamite dictionary considers as corresponding to Old Persian **paridaida*.[15]

From the texts there emerge the following meanings. *Partetas* figure as storage places for natural produce, such as figs, dates, peaches, apricots, pomegranates and 'royal grain', mostly fairly close to Persepolis. It could also be the place in which a food product, *kar*, was made. Although the size of a *partetas* was rather modest, it was large enough to contain sheep for the celebration of a religious ceremony, perhaps a sacrifice to Ahuramazda. Finally, there is a clear connection with trees. One tablet inventories 6,166 seedlings at five places, including three *partetas*, in which there are also 4931 trees.[16] The prominence of trees may be surprising, but the Persians attached great value to trees. This is already illustrated by a letter from Darius I to Gadatas, probably the overseer of a local 'paradise', the *paradeisarios*, a term which recurs in Syrian as *pardayspana*, in the oldest Armenian texts as *partizpan*, and in the New Persian epic *Shanameh* as *palezban*.[17] In the letter the king praises Gadatas for cultivating the fruit trees of Syria in Western Asia Minor and berates him for taxing the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to till profane soil.[18] A certain Pythios, perhaps the grandson of Croesus, gave Darius a golden vine and plane tree, which remained very famous until Antigonus melted them down in 316 BC.[19] When finding a fine plane tree a day east of Sardis, Xerxes decorated it with gold and appointed a perpetual guardian for it.[20] Cyrus the Younger

[15] W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1987) I.160; similarly already R.G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953[2]) 195.

[16] I summarize here the detailed discussions by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 93–96, 178–82; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1996 = Leiden, 1997) I.456–8; A. Uchitel, "Persian Paradise: agricultural texts in the fortification tablets," *Iranica Antiqua* 32 (1997) 137–44.

[17] *Paradeisarios*: Hsch. ε 5967. Syrian: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* II (Oxford, 1901) c. 3240 (*horti custos*); K. Brockelman, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle, 1928) 593b (*horticultor*). Armenian: H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* I (Leipzig, 1897) 229. New Persian: *Shanameh* 3.1504.

[18] R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1980[2]) no. 12; *SEG* 36.1042; R. Schmitt, "Bemerkungen zu den sog. Gadatas-Brief," *ZPE* 112 (1996) 95–101; Briant, *Histoire* I, 507–9 (function of Gadatas); D. Metzler, "Bemerkungen zum Brief des Darius an Gadatas," *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997) 323–32; B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford, 2002) 274–6.

[19] Hdt. 7.27; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.38; Chares *FGrH* 125 F 2; Amyntas *FGrH* 122 F 6; Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 41; Diod. Sic. 19.48.7; Pliny, *NH* 33.137; Himer. 31.8; Them. *Orat.* 13.166b, 27.339a; Photius, *Bibliotheke* 612.

[20] Hdt. 7.31; Ael. *VH* 2.14.

showed Lysander the *paradeisos* at Sardis and claimed to have personally planted some trees (§ 2). Strabo (15.3.18), who probably goes back to fourth-century sources, even mentions that during their education the Persian boys "late in the afternoon are trained in the planting of trees". It is surely this great concern with trees which made Plutarch relate that Artaxerxes II once gave permission to his soldiers, when they were very cold, to fell trees in *paradeisoi* (§ 2) "without saving pines or cypresses", while he himself felled the largest and most attractive tree (*Life of Artaxerxes* 25).[21]

We can now draw our first conclusions. In the early Persian Empire two closely related words were current in use for 'paradise': Median **paridaiza* and Old Persian **paridaida*. The latter was adopted in the Elamite *Kanzleisprache*, the former by Babylonians, Greeks and Jews (§ 2). Secondly, early Iranian 'paradise' had no fixed meaning. It could be a storage-place, vineyard, orchard, stable, forest or nursery of trees. Evidently, it was a kind of *vox media* of which the most prominent element was the enclosure. Thirdly, none of these descriptions closely fits the Garden of Eden yet.

2. *The later Achaemenid period*

Having looked at the earliest occurrences of the word, let us now turn to its examples in the later Achaemenid era. The connection between trees and 'paradise', which we noted in the Elamite *partetas*, recurs in the *Old Testament*, where in *Nehemiah* (2.8) the homonymous protagonist requests building wood "to make beams for gates of the palace" from the overseer of the king's *pardes*. The passage seems to derive from Nehemiah's original memoir, which dates from the second half of the fifth century, and thus is a valuable testimony to the presence of Persian 'paradises' not only in Anatolia but also elsewhere in the Persian empire. Nehemiah does not mention the location of his 'paradise', but it may

[21] On trees and the Persian king see Briant, *Histoire* II, 244–50 (with interesting illustrations from Persian seals), who also points to the Vulgate version of *Esther* 1.5 where the feast is celebrated in the court of the *horti et nemoris quod regio cultu et manu consitum erat*. For comparable medieval connections between kings and gardens see Th. Finkenstaedt, "Der Garten des Königs," in H. Bauer *et al.* (eds.), *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen* (Berlin, 1966) 183–209.

have been situated in Lebanon.[22] King Solomon imported cedars from Lebanon for the building of the temple (1 *Kings* 5); carpenters from the region are already well attested in Babylon in the early sixth century, and in 538 BC the royal administration ordered the Sidonians and Tyrians to bring cedars from Lebanon.[23] Trees also figure in the *Song of Songs* (4.13–14), which was perhaps written in Jerusalem around 400 BC.[24] Here we find a "*pardes* of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense".

There is a chance that *paradeisos* already appeared in Greek literature in the later fifth century. According to Aristoteles' pupil Clearchus, the sixth-century Samian tyrant Polycrates of Samos used to imitate the luxury of the Lydians and even had "constructed in the city the famous '(Red-light) Quarter' of Samos to rival the park at Sardis called 'Sweet Embrace'."[25] The passage probably derives from Clearchus' *Lives* where he relates:

> The Lydians in their luxury laid out *paradeisoi*, making them like parks and so lived in the shade… they would gather the wives and maiden daughters of other men into the place called, because of this action, Place of Chastity, and there outrage them.[26]

As Clearchus elsewhere in this passage must have used the Lydian historian Xanthus,[27] an older contemporary of Herodotus, it seems not unlikely that Clearchus also derived his information about Polycrates from Xanthus. If this is true, it means that Xanthus was perhaps the first Greek to use the term *paradeisos* in writing. This would not be

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[22] Thus Briant, *Histoire* I, 433 and many commentaries. However, other possibilities, such as the forests near Jericho, cannot be excluded.

[23] Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Geneva, 1989) 22–32; R. Zadok, "Foreigners and Foreign Linguistic Material in Mesopotamia and Egypt," in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Leuven, 1995) 431–47 at 432f.

[24] For the date see A. Robert *et al.*, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1963) 20–22. Admittedly, this is only a reasonable guess, but in any case more persuasive than M.H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (New York, 1977) 22–33.

[25] Clearchus, fr. 44 = Athenaeus 12.540, tr. C.B. Gulick, Loeb, cf. P. Briant, "Chasses royales macédoniennes et chasses royales perses: le thème de la chasse au lion sur la *Chasse de Vergina*," *Dial. d'Hist. Anc.* 17 (1991) 211–55 at 235 note 45.

[26] Clearchus, fr. 43a = Athenaeus 12.515e, tr. C.B. Gulick, Loeb.

[27] As is observed by Wehrli *ad loc*. who compares Eusth. on *Il.*XVI.702 = Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F 4c.

unlikely, since being a Lydian he may well have known the Sardian *paradeisoi* (below) personally.

Unfortunately, the passage is not crystal clear. The most likely interpretation seems to be that in order to enjoy the shade the Sardians laid out *paradeisoi*. As befitted *paradeisoi* (§ 1 and below), they consisted of trees, but the Sardians apparently had transformed them into a more cultivated environment than the normal Persian ones (below), with perhaps pavilions to receive their 'guests'. In any case, there was a house and a place with a canopied bed in the Babylonian *paradeisos* where Alexander the Great died,[28] and pavilions long remained a characteristic feature of Persian parks.[29] At first sight it may be surprising that Clearchus speaks of *paradeisoi* in the plural, but the texts frequently speak of multiple *paradeisoi*. Some earlier examples are, presumably, the *paradeisoi* in Susa (Ael. *NA* 7.1), the wild parks (below) of Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15, 33), the hunting *paradeisoi* given to Demetrius Poliorcetes in his place of exile (Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius* 50) and the Syrian cypress-*paradeisoi* mentioned by Theophrastus (*HP* 5.8.1).

We move on to firmer ground in the fourth century. In the beginning of that century, the Athenian potter Xenophantos signed a wonderful squat lekythos on which we see a Persian hunt, in what can only be described as a lush *paradeisos*: Persians on foot, horse back and chariots spear a black boar and a brown deer, but also mythological animals like two griffins. Their inscribed names Dareios, Cyrus, Atramis, and Abrokomas leave no doubt that the designer of the vase wanted to represent real Persians,[30] and even though the griffins add a kind of

[28] The Macedonian royal diaries in *FGrH* 117 F 3; Ephippos *FGrH* 126 F 4; Arr. *An.* 7.25; for more examples of buildings in *paradeisoi* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 107.

[29] D. Wilber, *Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions* (Rutland and Tokyo, 1962); W.L. Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature" and R. Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: *Bagh* and *Chahar Bagh*," in R. Ettinghausen *et al.*, *The Islamic Garden* (Washington DC, 1976) 41–67 and 69–85, respectively; E.B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (London, 1979); S. Bianca, *Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt* (Munich, 1991) 108–23; T.S. Kawami, "Antike persische Gärten," in M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter* (Mainz, 1992) 81–99; A.R. Littlewood, "Gardens of the Palaces," in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington DC, 1997) 13–38.

[30] For the Persian name Abrokomas see R. Schmitt, *Die iranischen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons* (Vienna, 2002) 40f.

mythical element, their clothing, equipment and physiognomy convincingly do so.[31]

However, the first certain occurrences of the term *paradeisos* are to be found in the works of Xenophon.[32] Unfortunately, the chronology of his works is not very clear, but it seems reasonable to start with the *Cyropaedia*, a novel-like book in which Xenophon displays much of his knowledge of the Persian Empire. Here he lets Astyages tell his grandson, the future Cyrus the Great: "I will give you all the game present in the *paradeisos* and collect many more, which you, as soon as you have learnt to ride, may pursue" (1.3.14). In fact, Cyrus proved to be such an enthousiastic hunter in the *paradeisos* that his grandfather was unable to collect enough animals for him (1.4.5): not surprisingly, since it was only a small one (1.4.11). Astyages' insistence on the hunt had evidently left a big impression on Cyrus, for he ordered his satraps to "lay out *paradeisoi* and breed game" (8.6.12), and when he had acceded to the throne

> he would lead those nobles, whom he thought in need of it, out to the hunt in order to train them in the art of war, since he considered the hunt by far the best preparation for war…and whenever he was bound to stay at home, he would hunt game reared in the *paradeisoi* (8.1.34–8).

We obtain a more detailed picture of a specific *paradeisos* in the *Oeconomicus* through an anecdote that goes back to Lysander's own report according to Xenophon. When Cyrus the Younger showed the Spartan Lysander his *paradeisoi* in Sardis, Lysander admired

> the grandeur of the trees, the uniform distances at which they were planted, the straightness of the rows of the trees, the beautiful regularity of all the angles and the number and sweetness of the odours that accompanied them as they walked around.[33]

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[31] See most recently M. Tiverios, "Die von Xenophantos Athenaios signierte grosse Lekythos aus Pantikapaion: Alte Funde neu betrachtet," in J.H. Oakley *et al*. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford, 1997) 269–84; M. Miller, "Art, Myth and Reality: Xenophantos' Lekythos Re-Examined," in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis* (Oxford, 2003) 19–47; B. Cohen, *The Colors of Clay* (Los Angeles, 2006) 140–2.

[32] C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Munich, 1998) 123–5, does not offer anything new.

[33] Xen. *Oec.* 4.20–5 (quoted by Cic. *Sen.* 17.59), tr. J. Thompson and B.J. Hayes. For Persian presence and influence in Lydia see N.V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid colonization in Lydia," *R. Et. Anc.* 87 (1985) 7–29; Briant, *Histoire* I, 721–5.

Cyrus was not the only one to have *paradeisoi* in Sardis. Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis during Xenophon's Persian service, had a *paradeisos* in the same region, which he called 'Alcibiades' because of the latter's charm.[34] His *paradeisos* contained a river and had been laid out at great expense with plants, meadows and 'all other things that contribute to luxury and peaceful pleasure'.[35] A Sardian third-century tax inscription also mentions the gift of two *paradeisoi*, which had once been given by King Antioch, to a temple.[36] Tissaphernes had another house in Tralles where, as recently published evidence suggests, he also owned a *paradeisos*—in any case, epigraphical evidence attests to a place called Paradeisos in the third century BC.[37]

Xenophon supplies additional information about specific *paradeisoi* in the *Anabasis*, the report of his wanderings as a mercenary in the Anatolian part of the Achaemenid Empire, which dates from the first decades of the fourth century. In Kelainai, the capital of Greater Phrygia, he saw the palace of Cyrus the Younger and

> a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals, which he (Cyrus) hunted on horseback whenever he wanted to exercise himself and his horses.[38] The Maeander River flows through the middle of the *paradeisos* (1.2.7).

Further to the west Cyrus' army found the "very large and fine *paradeisos* with everything which the seasons produce" of Belesys, the satrap of Syria, which Cyrus had "chopped down" (1.4.10); the term clearly suggests the presence of trees.[39] A similar type of *paradeisos*, "large, fine, and thick with all kind of trees" (2.4.14, 16), was situated in Babylon near the Tigris.

Finally, in the work of his old age, the *Hellenica*, Xenophon introduces us to Pharnabazus, the hereditary satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, in his

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[34] See also T. Petit, "Alcibiade et Tissapherne," *Les Ét. Class.* 65 (1997) 137–51.

[35] Plut. *Alc.* 24; Diod. Sic. 14.80.2 (quote).

[36] W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII.1 (Leiden, 1932) no. I.1, 15, 16, cf. K. Atkinson, "A Hellenistic Land-conveyance," *Historia* 21 (1972) 45–74.

[37] Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.12; *I. Tralles* 250.19, cf. R. Descat, "Le paradis de Tissapherne," *DATA. Achaemenid History Newsletter* 1, April (1992) Note 6. For other toponyms called *Paradeisos* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 99–100; add W. Günther, "Inschriften von Didyma," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 21 (1971) 97–108, no. 1. For an unclear reference note also *I. Tyana* 35.

[38] For Persian presence in Greater Phrygia see N.V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 6 (1991) 83–143; Briant, *Histoire* I, 725–7.

[39] For Belesys see M.W. Stolper, "The Babylonian Enterprise of Belesys," *Pallas* 43 (1995) 217–38.

capital Daskyleion.[40] Here the Persian had his palace and "very fine wild animals, some in enclosed *paradeisoi*, some in the open country. A river full of all kinds of fish ran past the place" (4.1.15–6). It is probably not surprising, then, that hunting scenes occurred on locally found seals of the satrap.[41] However, this idyllic area had not escaped the ravages of war, but, as Pharnabazus complains, "my father left me fine buildings and *paradeisoi* full with trees and wild animals, in which I delighted, but I see all of that cut down and burned down" (4.1.33).[42]

Our last example comes from the Roman antiquarian Gellius. When discussing the word *vivarium* he quotes Varro, the most learned Roman of the Late Republic, that "*vivaria*, the term now used for certain enclosures in which wild animals are kept alive and fed, were once called *leporaria*".[43] Of these *vivaria* Gellius (2.20.1, 4) adds that the Greeks call them *paradeisoi*. We have no idea as to how Gellius acquired this knowledge, but given the paucity of references to wild animals in *paradeisoi* in the post-Achaemenid period he will have derived his information, directly or indirectly, from a Hellenistic, perhaps historiographical source.

What have we learned so far about these 'paradises'? First, the passages in *Nehemiah* and the *Songs of Songs* seem to suggest that, in addition to the hunting *paradeisoi* attested by Xenophon, other meanings of Persian 'paradise', such as orchard and place to grow trees, remained alive. Secondly, the early Greek *paradeisoi* are related to the Iranian ones only to a limited extent. They are not orchards, vineyards or storage-places—phenomena for which the Greeks of course had words of their own. On the other hand, as is stated explicitly in *Hellenica* 4.1.15,

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[40] T. Bakir, "Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion," *Pallas* 43 (1995) 268–85. For Persians in the region see N.V. Sekunda, "Persian settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia," in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988) 175–96; Briant, *Histoire* I, 718–20; for Persian elements in adjacent Mysia see M. Cremer, *Hellenistisch-Römische Grabstelen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien*, 2 vols (Bonn, 1991–92); N.V. Sekunda, "Itabelis and the Satrapy of Mysia," *Am. J. of Anc. Hist.* 14 (1989 [1998]) 73–102.

[41] D. Kaptan, "Some remarks about the hunting scenes on the seal impressions of Daskyleion," in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Paris, 1996) 85–100; note also for hunting scenes A. Kubala, "Funerary Steles from Daskyleion. Remarks on the So-Called Greek-Persian Style in Anatolia," in F.M. Stepniowski (ed.), *The Orient and the Aegean* (Warsaw, 2003) 103–122.

[42] For the possible location of the *paradeisos* see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1963) 348–9 and *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1980) 269; V. Manfredi, *La strade dei diecimila* (Milano, 1986) 37.

[43] Cicero (*Att.* 2.3.2) uses the term *viridarium*, 'pleasure-garden', in the context of the *Cyropaedia*. For these Roman wild parks see F. Olck, "Gartenbau," in *RE* VII (1912) 768–841 at 838.

they were enclosed and in this respect they reflect their Iranian origin. Thirdly, they seem to be a relatively unknown phenomenon to the Greeks, since in his *Oeconomicus* Xenophon effectively glosses the term by saying that "there are parks, the so-called *paradeisoi*" wherever the king goes; in other passages the description sufficiently indicates the meaning of *paradeisos*.[44] Fourthly, these particular 'paradises' were characterised by a modest size, vicinity to other ones,[45] the presence of animals, water (be it a river or a lake), the prominence of trees and, in general, by lush vegetation.[46] Although such 'paradises' have not yet turned up in Babylonian and Elamite texts, they were not absent from the Persian heartland, since the *paradeisos* in Susa was irrigated (Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 34), and Cyrus' tomb in Pasargadae was situated in a *paradeisos* with a grove "with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow".[47] Fifthly, these *paradeisoi* were the possession of the highest Persian aristocracy.[48] Although he does not mention the term, Curtius Rufus (7.2.22) clearly alludes to the *paradeisoi* when he calls the *magnos recessus amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis* of Media the *praecipua regum satraparumque voluptas*. They may therefore have become emblematic of Persian authority, as the Phoenicians' choice of the 'royal *paradeisos*' for their first target in their revolt of 351 BC seems to suggest.[49] Sixthly and finally, unlike the 'paradise' in *Genesis*, the hunting *paradeisoi* were filled with wild animals and in this way allowed the Persians to keep themselves well conditioned for war.

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[44] As is observed by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 120.

[45] So rightly Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111, with more examples.

[46] See B. Lincoln, "À la recherche du paradis perdu," *History of Religions* 43 (2003) 139–54 at 154 for interesting, if somewhat speculative, connections with an Achaemenid "prefiguration of the world's ultimate salvation"; similarly, Lincoln, *Religion, Empire and Torture* (Chicago and London, 2007) 79–81.

[47] Arr. *An.* 6.29.4 = Aristobulus *FGrH* 135 F 51, tr. P. Brunt, Loeb; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978) 108–12; "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: evolution and legacy," in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck (eds.), *Archeologia Iranica et orientalis* (Ghent, 1989) 475–502, and "The garden as a political statement: some case studies from the Near East in the first millennium BC," *Bull. Asia Inst.* NS 4 (1990) 171–82; H. Koch, *Es kündet Dareios der König*…(Mainz, 1992) 265–6; Briant, *Histoire* I, 98f.

[48] Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110; add Suda σ 1681.

[49] M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC* (Cambridge, 1997) 124.

3. *The post-Achaemenid times*

After the fall of the Achaemenid empire the hunting *paradeisoi* quickly disappeared, since the hunt did not play the same role in the life of Alexander the Great and his successors as it did among the Persian magnates. Only the already quoted *paradeisoi* of Demetrius Poliorcetes in the immediate post-Achaemenid era still remind us of the traditional hunting *paradeisoi*. However, other *paradeisoi* continued to exist, but without the wild animals. We can note this change already fairly early in the third century, since in 246 BC the small Cretan polis of Itanos dedicated a 'holy *temenos*' near the gate, presumably a kind of public garden, as *paradeisos* to Ptolemy III (246–221).[50] This surely was not a hunting park. Neither, presumably, were the *paradeisoi* attached to royal residences, which are mentioned in a late third-century papyrus from Tebtunis;[51] other combinations of palaces and parks, as listed below, clearly suggest that these *paradeisoi* were parks as well. In the third- and second-century *Septuagint*,[52] *paradeisos* is connected with water (*Numeri* 24.6; *Isaiah* 1.30) and trees (*Ezekiel* 31.8,9), strongly contrasted with the desert (*Isaiah* 51.3) and other desolate places (*Joel* 2.3),[53] and a sign of great wealth (*Ezekiel* 28.13), but nowhere do we hear about animals. In *Ecclesiastes*, which seems to date from the third century BC, Solomon says: 'I have made me gardens and *pardesim*, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits' (2.5). As in the already mentioned case of the *Song of Songs*, modern translations use 'orchard', and indeed, in modern Hebrew the word for 'orchard' is *pardes*.

Early examples of 'paradisiac' orchards probably appear in a demotic Egyptian text, which is a translation of a lost Greek original. In this comprehensive survey of Egypt under Ptolemy II (308–246) in 258 BC a census was ordered of "…the embankments that are ploughed and cultivated, specifying orchard by orchard the trees with their fruits", that

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[50] *I. Cret.* III.IV.4.8. For this and similar donations see Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Munich, 1970²) 121–2, 146 note 29; Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 61f. For such *temenê* see M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kepos: Der antike griechische Garten* (Munich, 1989) 34–8; V. Karageorghis and M. Carroll-Spillecke, "Die heiligen Haine und Gärten Zyperns," in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 141–52.

[51] *P. Tebt.* 3.1.703.211f., cf. the *basilikos kêpos* in *PSI* V.488.12 (257 BC) and the gift of the Sardian *paradeisoi* by King Antioch (§ 2).

[52] For the *Septuagint* see M. Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture. Its Prehistory and. the Problem of Its Canon* (Edinburgh and New York, 2002).

[53] The contrast of *paradeisos* and desert recurs in *P.Lond.* 2043; *UPZ* 114 I 10, II 10, 33, 37.

is, presumably, the various *paradeisoi*.[54] More orchards can be found in later documentary papyri from Egypt, which contain numerous references to *paradeisoi*.[55] These 'paradises' will have been utilitarian gardens, since their average size is extremely small, mostly less than a hectare. It is therefore not surprising that we occasionally hear about them being sold or bought, such as the *paradeisoi* bought 'from the state' (*P.Tebt.* I.5.99: 118 BC) or the 'royal *paradeisos*' bought by an Apollonius in 235 BC (*P.Tebt.* III.1.701.175f). Although these *paradeisoi* can supply a considerable amount of bricks,[56] they often contain various kinds of trees, from fig trees to conifers, in addition to the fruit-trees. Olives and palms must have been common, since we regularly find an *elaiônoparadeisos*, a *phoinikoparadeisos* and, perhaps inevitably, an *elaiônophoinikoparadeisos*. These Egyptian *paradeisoi* normally also have basins and wells. The *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, which was written in Egypt in the early second century BC and translated into Greek towards the end of the same century, well illustrates their irrigation by actually mentioning "a water channel into a *paradeisos*" (24.30). Although these smaller Egyptian *paradeisoi* do not contain rivers or possibilities for walking, they must have been attractive enough for *Ben-Sira* to state that 'kindness' and 'fear of the Lord' are 'like a *paradeisos*' (40.17, 27).[57]

The connection of Solomon with *paradeisoi* in the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* may have helped later generations to identify certain *paradeisoi* with those of famous kings. In any case, Josephus (*AJ* 8.186) mentions that Solomon's *paradeisos* at Etan contained flowing streams, and near Jerusalem there was a spring in King David's *paradeisos* (*AJ* 7.347), which was perhaps different from the royal 'paradise' four stades from Jerusalem (*AJ* 9.225). Hyrcanus (135–104 BC) followed his royal 'predecessors' or Ptolemaic contemporaries by constructing a *paradeisos* 17 km west

[54] I quote from the English translation of a provisional Italian version in S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the battle of Ipsos to the death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge, 1985) 97f. The original text has now been published by E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983) 15ff., to be read with the important corrections by K.-Th. Zauzich, "Von Elephantine bis Sambehdet," *Enchoria* 12 (1984) 193f.

[55] These orchards may continue older Egyptian gardens, cf. C.J. Eyre, "The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt," *J. Egypt. Arch.* 80 (1994) 57–80. Add to his bibliography of Egyptian gardens (p. 58 note 7): J.-C. Hugonot, "Ägyptische Gärten," in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 9–44, who stresses the erotic aspect of the 'Lustgarten'.

[56] *PCZ* 59825.14 mentions a consignment of 10,000 bricks.

[57] Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 97–99 (small size), 102 note 79 (water), 104–5 (trees, word coinages).

of Amman, the present Araq el Emir (*AJ* 12.233).[58] Near Jericho there were also "very dense and beautiful *paradeisoi*" spread throughout an area of some 45 square kilometers with many nice trees, palms, cypresses and, especially, balsam.[59] And just as Xenophon enhanced the beauty of Pharnabazus' *paradeisos* by letting him bewail its loss, so Josephus (*BJ* 6.6) illustrates the desolation of Judaea after the Jewish revolt by mentioning the Roman destruction of the *paradeisoi*.

Pardes also recurs in some Aramaic fragments of the Dead Sea scrolls. In an early second-century fragment of *Enoch* (4Q206 3 21 = *1 Enoch* 32.3, also mentioned in 4Q209 23 9) we read about the '*Pardes* of Justice', a place with many trees, including the Tree of Wisdom, as we can read in the more fuller preserved Ethiopian version. And in a very fragmentary text from the *Book of Giants* (6Q8 2 3), which dates to the time of the beginning of the first century,[60] there survives only a reference to "this *pardes*, all of it, and…", shortly before preceded by "its three roots", presumably of the one tree that survived the angelic cutting down of all the others.[61] However, none of these texts suggests the picture of a park with water, pavilions and walking amenities.[62]

The latter possibility must have been a feature of at least some *paradeisoi* in the Hellenistic era, since Photius (*Lexicon* 383.2) defines *paradeisos* as: "a place for walking (*peripatos*) with trees and water", which comes very close to the description in *Genesis*. As we have seen (§ 2), Lysander walked with Cyrus the Younger in his *paradeisos*; in *Susanna*, which is perhaps to be dated to the later second century BC,[63] Susanna also walks in her husband's *paradeisos* (7, 36), which was enclosed (17, 20) and even contained a place to bathe (15, 17). The presence of areas explicitly intended for walking probably explains why Lucian (*VH* 2.23) called the

[58] P. Gentelle, "Un "paradis" hellénistique en Jordanie: étude de géo-archéologie," *Hérodote* 4 (1981) 69–101; N. and P. Lapp, "Iraq el-Amir," in E. Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York, 1993) 646–9; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111–2; I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces* (Aarhus, 1999²) 138f.

[59] Posidonius *FGrH* 87 F 70; Strabo 16.2.41; Pliny, *NH* 12.111.7; Josephus, *BJ* 1.361, 4.467 and *AJ* 15.96; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 55–63.

[60] F. García Martínez, *Qumran & Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992) 114f.

[61] L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (Leiden, 1997) 200–3.

[62] For a more detailed discussion see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (1 Enoch and other texts found at Qumran)," in G.P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted* (Leiden, 1999) 37–62.

[63] For *Susanna* see H. Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985); A. de Halleux, "Une version syriaque révisée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur *Susanne*" and "Hippolyte en version syriaque," *Le Muséon* 101 (1988) 33–40 and 102 (1989) 19–42, respectively.

Platonic Academy a *paradeisos* and why the Rhegion *paradeisos*, which had been planted by the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, was turned into a gymnasium.[64] Photius adds that comic authors (*PCG* Adespota 523) even used the term *paradeisos* for highly insensible individuals—people one could trample on. Unfortunately, he does not offer specifics about these areas, but we probably have to think of New Comedy, that is of post-Achaemenid times, since such pedestrian quarters are mentioned only once regarding the Xenophontic wild parks. Trees, as we have seen, were already an outstanding feature of the Persian *paradeisoi* and they would remain so all through ancient history, from Xenophon to the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and Procopius.[65] Even the talking trees met by Alexander in India were situated, naturally, in a *paradeisos*.[66]

In Roman times the *paradeisoi* became even more cultivated, as appears from the *paradeisoi* in the second-century Greek novels of Longus and Achilles Tatius. There are still springs and trees, both barren and fertile ones, but the landscape has become much more artificial. We now notice the presence of meadows and flowers planted in beds: roses, daffodils and hyacinths; instead of the wild animals of earlier times the 'paradise' is now inhabited by swans, parrots and peacocks.[67] However attractive these parks had become, in Roman times the word remained a loanword for the Greeks and it was avoided by fanatic purists.[68]

Admittedly, in the Roman period the Persian royal hunts were still remembered, but, interestingly, they were now quoted in a negative way. Apollonius of Tyana declined to join the Persian king in hunting in his *paradeisoi*, since it gave him no pleasure "to attack animals that have been ill-treated and enslaved against their nature" (1.37). Dio Chrysostom even lets the good king abhor the 'Persian hunt', although he considers hunting an excellent preparation for war:

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[64] Theophr. *HP* 4.5.6; Pliny, *NH* 12.71.

[65] Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* 104. Trees are also an outstanding feature of Greek utopian gardens: *Od.* 1.51; Hes. *Th.* 216; Simonides 22.7; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 16.

[66] *Historia Alexandri Magni* (L, ed. Von Thiel) 3.6.17, which is translated *paradisus* in Iulius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonii* 3.17.526 Rosellini, one of the very few Latin passages where *paradisus* means a profane park.

[67] Longus 4.2–4; Ach. Tat. 1.15, whose horticultural description is used in Byzantine times, cf. O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna, 1942) 11–21; see also Aristaenetus 1.3.

[68] Schol. Luc. *VH* 2.23. For the practice of purism in Roman times see now C. Charalambakis, "Zum Sprachverfall in der griechischen Antike," in G.W. Most *et al.* (eds.), *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1993) 36–45; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford, 1996) 17–64.

> those people (the Persians) would enclose the game in *paradeisoi* and then, whenever they wanted to, killed the game as if it were in a pen, showing that they neither sought physical exercise or danger, since their game was weak and broken in spirit (3.135–7).

The thought is perhaps far-fetched, but is it totally impossible that in these protests against killing enslaved animals there is something of a hint at contemporary Roman *venationes*?

It cannot even be excluded that the detractors of the 'Persian hunt' had heard about contemporary hunting *paradeisoi* further to the East, since an event in the Persian expedition of Julian the Apostate demonstrates that these had continued to exist. The historian Zosimus relates that in the neighbourhood of Meinas Sabatha, a city near the Naarmalcha canal which runs between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Roman army came

> to an enclosure which they called the 'King's Chase'. This was a large area enclosed by a small wall and planted with all kinds of trees, in which all sorts of wild animals were locked up. These received more than plenty of food and offered the king very easy opportunities for hunting whenever he wanted (3.23.1–4).

From the parallel notice in Libanius (18.243) we gather that the '*paradeisos*' was situated close by the palace. In fact, this is perhaps the best description of what a hunting *paradeisos* will have looked like with the obligatory elements of the enclosure, trees and wild animals, which Ammianus (24.5.1–2) specifies as lions, bears and boars. The vicinity of the palace is already well attested in Xenophon (§ 2), in *Chronicles* (the case of Manasseh: § 4), in Ptolemaic Tebtunis (above), and in *Susanna* (4: Susanna's very wealthy husband's *paradeisos* is adjacent to his house). The vicinity remained a feature of Persian grandees in the novel, where the combination of palace and *paradeisos* already points to the courtly parks of later Persian, Islamic and Byzantine magnates (note 30).[69]

Let us conclude our remarks about Persian hunting with a few more observations. When the Persians started to conquer Greece, they occupied the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, one after the other, and caught the people as with drag-nets in the following manner according to Herodotus: "having joined hands, the men stretch right across the island from north to south and then move over the whole of the

[69] Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110 compares Chariton 4.2.8 and Heliodorus 7.23.

island, hunting everybody out".[70] In this case the prey were people, but the great Swiss scholar Karl Meuli (1891–1968) adduced a number of examples from early to early modern Chinese and medieval Mongolian sources to show that, indeed, Oriental rulers used their armies as enormous battues in order to surround large animals and kill them. By analogy we may presuppose similar battues for the Persians, since in a source overlooked by Meuli, the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, we are told that Abba Milesius met two sons of the Persian king who had gone hunting "according to their custom. They spread nets around a wide area; at least forty miles, so as to be able to hunt and shoot everything that was found inside the nets".[71] The story has no need for beaters, but surely behind the two royal princes there must have been an army of Persians to chase the game into the nets. Herodotus uses the verb *sagêneuô* for the Persian tactic and the noun *sagênê* is also used for the Greek hunt on the tunafish, again a tactic to catch as large a group of prey in the nets as possible.[72] In fact, hunting with nets was so important for the Persian aristocracy that the art of net making was part of their education (Strabo 15.3.18).

Meuli also observed that some of these Oriental rulers made wild parks in order to hunt more at ease—understandably, since their 'army hunts' could last up to four months. Consequently, he suggests that the Persians, too, had constructed their *paradeisoi* in connection with their battues. This conclusion is attractive but probably goes too far. The Oriental wild parks are only attested for the Middle Ages and were very large (the one of the son of Dzengish Khan, Ögädäi, had a circumference of a two day-journey), whereas the evidence we have strongly suggests that the average Persian *paradeisos* was much smaller and, at least to some degree, landscaped (§ 2).

It may be sufficient to draw only a few conclusions from this section. First, *paradeisoi* were situated mainly in areas once dominated by the Persian empire. Secondly, the variety of usage of the Iranian 'paradise' survived the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Thirdly, with the disappearance of the Persian elite their hunting *paradeisoi* had vanished as well, except for the more eastern parts of the former empire. Fourthly,

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[70] Hdt. 6.31. For the method see also *ibidem* 3.149; Pl. *Men.* 240b, *Leg.* 3.698d; Appian, *Mithr.* 285; Hdn 6.5.9ff., cf. K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols (Basel and Stuttgart, 1975) II.699–729; Briant, *Histoire* I.310f.

[71] *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 65, 298.

[72] Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 725.

in the course of time the Graeco-Roman *paradeisos* became more and more artificial.

4. *Conclusion*

Before answering the question as to why the translator(s) of the *Septuagint*, in the third century BC, chose *paradeisos* to render the Hebrew *Gan Eden*, we have to solve one other problem. Why did the translators not prefer the equally possible Greek term *kêpos*, 'garden'? Like the *paradeisos*, the *kêpos* is connected with water (*Isaiah* 1.29), but it is clearly simpler than the majestic *paradeisos* and only the place of 'herbs' (*Deuteronomy* 11.10; 1 *Kings* 20.2). This is perhaps the reason that, apparently in the same way as David (*Nehemiah* 3.16 LXX), King Manasseh was buried in his *kêpos* in 2 *Kings* (21.18) but in the third-century *2 Chronicles* (33.20) in his *paradeisos*, a version followed by Josephus (*AJ* 10.46).[73] This impression of greater simplicity is confirmed by what we know about the *kêpos* from other sources. Admittedly, Greek gardens have long been neglected, but recent investigations have considerably clarified our picture of them.[74] These gardens were primarily wanted for their productivity and were closely connected with residential housing. They were small, walled, intensely cultivated and loved for their vegetables and flowers; moreover, their luxuriant growth often evoked sexual associations.[75] In other words, for the Jewish translators the word *kêpos* will have hardly conjured up the image of a royal park worthy of Jahweh.[76] That is probably also the reason that Alcinoos' Utopian garden in the *Odyssey* (7.114–31) is compared with paradise only once in the whole of

[73] For such mortuary gardens see F. Stavrakopoulou, "Exploring the Garden of Uzza: Death, Burial and Ideologies of Kingship," *Biblica* 87 (2006) 1–21.

[74] See Olck, "Gartenbau," 783–7; Carroll-Spillecke, *Kepos*, and "Griechische Gärten," in *eadem*, *Der Garten*, 153–75; R. Osborne, "Greek Gardens," in J.D. Hunt (ed.), *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, 1992) 373–91.

[75] This is especially true for the meadow, cf. J.M. Bremer, "The meadow of love and two passages in Euripides' *Hippolytus*," *Mnemosyne* IV 28 (1975) 268–80; S.R. Slings, in J.M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some recently found Greek poems* (Leiden, 1987) 45; D.L. Cairns, "The Meadow of Artemis and the Character of the Euripidean *Hippolytus*," *QUCC* 57 (1997) 51–75.

[76] For the kingly aspects of Jahweh see now A.M. Schwemer and M. Hengel (eds.), *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der Hellenistischen Welt* (Tübingen, 1991).

early Christian literature.[77] Still, in some places the difference between *kêpos* and *paradeisos* may have been relatively small, and in first-century Tebtunis we actually find a *kêpoparadeisos*.[78]

But if the translators preferred *paradeisos*, which 'paradise' did they have in mind: the Persian one (§ 1), the early Greek one (§ 2), those in Ptolemaic Egypt or those in contemporary Palestine (§ 3)? We can most certainly discard the old Persian meanings of storage room or vineyard and the usage attested in Xenophon, since neither God nor Adam display any interest in hunting nor do they drink alcohol. We can almost certainly also neglect the *paradeisoi* of later Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, since they were too small, too simple and too utilitarian to be worthy of Jahweh. This leaves us the contemporary royal *paradeisoi* in Hellenistic times, as they are visible, if somewhat dimly, in various descriptions: royal parks with many trees, suitable for walking, less wild than their Persian predecessors but more wooded than their later Roman descendants.[79]

Such parks of course fit the time of the *Septuagint*, which began to be translated in Alexandria in the second quarter of the third century BC.[80] Our knowledge of early Alexandria is sketchy, but it has increasingly been recognised that the royal palace of Ptolemy II was inspired by the Persian palaces with their *paradeisoi*; his *paradeisos* actually seems to be reflected in the description of King Aeëtes' palace in Colchis by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 3.219–29).[81] There is also a clear indication of an association of Jahweh's *paradeisos* with the world of the Ptolemies. Two decades ago the papyrologist Geneviève Husson drew attention to the translation of *Gan Eden* in *Genesis* (3.23) as *paradeisos*

[77] As is observed by C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher "Cohortatio ad Graecos")*, 2 vols (Basel and Berlin, 1994) II.440.

[78] *PSI* VIII 917.5; *P.Mich.* V 282.3 (the same garden!).

[79] W. Sonne, "Hellenistische Herrschaftsgärten," in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds.), *Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz, 1996) 136–43.

[80] See most recently P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1972) I.689–94; E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1976–83) I.167–75; J. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton, 1997[2]) 99–106. For the Jewish milieu behind the translation see also A. van der Kooij, "The City of Alexandria and the Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible," *J. Northwest Semitic Lang.* 25 (1999) 137–49.

[81] G. Grimm, "City Planning?," in P. Green *et al.* (eds.), *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu, 1996) 55–74; Sonne, "Hellenistische Herrschaftsgärten," 139–41; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 133f.

tês tryphês.[82] As she pointed out, *tryphê* was a term much used by the Ptolemaic monarchy to characterise its leisurely life with its prosperity and magnificence. Three kings were surnamed Tryphon and various princesses Tryphaena; in Roman times, *tryphê* even became synonymous with the 'good life'.[83] Clearly, the time of the Ptolemies was no longer the era of Cyrus with its physical hardship and sweat, but the world of wealth, leisure and luxury. Behind the *paradeisos* of the heavenly king in the *Septuagint* version of *Genesis* loom the cultivated *paradeisoi* of the all too earthly rulers of contemporary Egypt.

Excursus: 'Paradise' in Cyprus

According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the Cypriots had their own term for a 'paradise': *ganos: paradeisos hypo de Kypriôn* (223.47). The lemma (223.42ff.) derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (300.16–20 De Stefani), which in turn derives from the Middle Byzantine *Lexicon aimôdein* (γ 3 b-8 Dyck), which explains Agathias, *Hist*. 2.28, although this passage does not contain the 'Cypriot' information.[84] On Cyprus, the term perhaps occurs in *ICS* 309.12 (*ka-no-se*);[85] another possibility may be an inscription from Mytilene (*IG* XII.2.58.(a) 17). Traces of the same lemma occur in Hsch. γ 150: *ganos: paradeisos*, which Kurt Latte, its most recent editor, assigned to Diogenianus, on the basis of the occurrence of the same explanation in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (223.47) and the indication of the dialect. Although such a conclusion is valid for some cases, it is not correct in this particular one, since the lemma in the *Etymologicum Magnum* certainly derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the lemma in Hesychius must derive from Cyril's glossary.[86] We may also note Hesych.

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[82] G. Husson, "Le paradis de délices (*Genèse* 3, 23–24)," *REG* 101 (1988) 64–73. For the meaning of *'eden* see now S. Paul *et al*. (eds.), *Al kanfei Jonah: collected studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic philology*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2001) II.750–5.

[83] Cf. J. Tondriau, "La *tryphê*, philosophie royale ptolémaique," *R. Ét. Anc*. 50 (1948) 49–54;, "Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolemaïque," *Klema* 3 (1978) 177–99 at 188–92 and "Die Tryphè des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. Beobachtungen zum ptolemäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandtschaft in Ägypten (140/39 v. Chr.)," in H. Heinen (ed.), *Althistorische Studien* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 116–130; P. Briant, "Histoire et idéologie. Les Grecs et la 'décadence perse'," in M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* II (Paris, 1989) 33–47; S. Stelluto, "Il motivo della *tryphê* in Filarco," in I. Gallo (ed.), *Seconda Miscellanea Filologica* (Naples, 1995) 47–84. 'Good life': L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 187f.

[84] We now know that the lexicon was called *Etymologiai diaphoroi*, cf. A.R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici* II (Berlin and New York, 1995) 846.

[85] Cf. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris, 1983²). Unfortunately, the text is mutilated and was destroyed during the Second World War.

[86] W. Bühler, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 342, had already observed that Latte underestimated Cyril.

γ 147: *ganea: kêpous* and *Et. Genuinum* s.v. *ganos*, where the term is paraphrased with *gê*, 'earth' (= *Et. Magnum* 221).

The conclusion seems to be that the Cypriots had derived their term *ganos*, like some other words,[87] from their long Phoenician association.[88] Its meaning was evidently glossed by some lexicographers from a context (contexts?) which now escapes us.[89]

[87] Cf. E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en Grec* (Paris, 1967) 70–6.

[88] Cf. G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985) 7f. For Cyprus in Persian times see J. Wiesehöfer, "Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft," in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, *Achaemenid History* 4, 239–52; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 9–79; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 61.

[89] For information and assistance I am much indebted to my colleagues Klaus Alpers, Pierre Briant, Bob Fowler, Stephen Harrison, Ton Hilhorst, Peter van Minnen, Stefan Radt, Gerrit Reinink, Marten Stol, Eibert Tigchelaar and Jos Weitenberg.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST CRIME: BROTHERS AND FRATRICIDE IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN

After the expulsion of the first mortals from Paradise, the author of *Genesis* immediately continues with the story of Cain and Abel. This story is, so to speak, the very first fratricide. Curiously, though, the standard great commentaries on *Genesis* have little or nothing to say on this aspect of the episode.[1] Yet its place in Israel's *Urgeschichte* and the event itself raise several questions.[2] Firstly, what does the story say about the relationship between brothers in ancient Israel? Secondly, why did the Israelite imagination think up fratricide as the very first crime and not, for example, patricide or matricide? I will look at these interrelated questions in comparison with two other ancient Mediterranean cultures, Greece and Rome, but also bring in some modern anthropological material. In this way, we will perhaps be able to gain a better understanding of the role of brothers in these cultures. That does not mean to say that a comparison is easy. In the case of Israel we have only the *Old Testament*, regarding Rome we have hardly any mythological examples, and in the case of Greece we are confronted with an embarrassing amount of sources, from epic to comedy, which all pose different problems regarding the nature of the evidence. Any picture, therefore, can be only sketchy. We will look first at the importance and nature of fraternal relations in Israel (§ 1), Greece (§ 2) and Rome (§ 3), then at the tensions and fratricides in these cultures (§ 4–6) and finally look at fratricide in connection with patricide and matricide (§ 7).

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[1] Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis I* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974) 428–30; H. Seebass, *Genesis*, 4 vols (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1996–2000) 1.142–64.

[2] I note here in passing that the studies mentioned in note 1 are unpersuasive in their treatment of the opposition farmer/shepherd. For a good bibliography see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000) 551f.

1. *Brothers in ancient Israel*

What did the ancient Israelites consider to be the ideal relationship between brothers?[3] A good illustration of the behaviour expected between brothers is given by Abraham's words to Lot, when their shepherds started to quarrel: "Let there be no strife between you and me, and between your herders and my herders; for we are kindred" (*Genesis* 13.8). Remarkably, this text seems to have been in the mind of a fourth-century Egyptian, when he wrote in a letter on a dispute about herds: "there is no difference between us and you, as we are brothers".[4] Unity among brothers is clearly the ideal situation as the well-known *Psalm* 133 so eloquently extols. Possible causes for discord among brothers should therefore be avoided, and it was thus forbidden to brothers to lend one another money upon usury (*Deuteronomy* 23.19–20). This love extended to difficult situations: Ephraim's brothers came to comfort him after his sons had been killed during a cattle raid (*1 Chronicles* 7.22), and those without brothers were considered to be extremely vulnerable (*Ecclesiastes* 4.8). Not surprisingly, then, Gideon killed the kings of Midian because they had killed his own brothers (*Judges* 8.19).

On a metaphorical level, the term 'brother' was used to indicate somebody extremely close: David mourned Jonathan as his brother (*2 Samuel* 1.26), as did the prophet for the Man of God slain by a lion (*1 Kings* 13.30). At the beginning of our era, Jesus himself called his audience and pupils 'brothers' (*Mark* 3.33; *Matthew* 25.40, 28.10 etc.) and the apostles addressed their audience as 'brothers' (*Acts* 2.29, 3.17, etc.): a kind of affective language that made these groups feel like a real family.[5]

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[3] For brothers in Israel see the not quite satisfactory H. Ringgren, "*'Ah*," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* I (1973) 205–10.

[4] Or do we find here an age-old theme among shepherds? Cf. P. Maraval, "Un nouveau papyrus des Archives d'Abinnaeus?," *ZPE* 71 (1988) 97f.

[5] See the perceptive observations of W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven and London, 1983) 86–9; note also G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie, 1987) 250–5.

2. *Brothers in ancient Greece*[6]

The same situation could be found among the ancient Greeks.[7] It is surprising how often Homer mentions brothers and continuously stresses their solidarity and, regularly, shared death;[8] brothers also had to avenge the murder of brothers and it was an eternal disgrace not to do so (*Od.* 24.433–6). This solidarity supposedly extended even towards matricide: according to one version of the story, Alcmaeon killed his mother Eriphyle with the cooperation of his brother, thus avenging the betrayal of their father Amphiaraos (Apollod. 3.7.5). The close relationship is also reflected in names of Homeric heroes: the names of Aga*memnon* and *Mene*laos both stress the ideal of steadfastness in battle, and those of Castor and Polydeukes, the Dioskouroi, that of 'excellence, brilliance'.[9]

Both examples apply to only two brothers and it is indeed striking how often Homer speaks of only a couple of brothers. Not only do we find twins such as Krethon and Orsilochos (*Il.* V.541–60) as well as Aesepos and Pedasos (VI.21–8), who are all killed by the same warrior, but in the famous Catalogue of Ships of the second book of the *Iliad* many communities are commanded by a couple of brothers, such as Orchomenos by Askalaphos and Ialmenos (511–6), the Phocaeans by Schedios and Epistrophos (517–26), Kos and surroundings by Pheidippos and Antiphos (676–80).[10] The phenomenon of two leaders is indeed well attested for groups of warriors and youths. It almost certainly goes

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[6] Regarding the Greek material, I update, abbreviate and amplify my remarks in "Why Did Medea Kill Her Brother Apsyrtus?," in J.J. Clauss and S.I. Johnston (eds.), *Medea* (Princeton, 1997) 83–100 at 87–92.

[7] For Greece see especially M. Huys, "Twistende broers bij Euripides," *Kleio* 14 (1984) 32–48; S.C. Humphreys, "Kinship Patterns in the Athenian Courts," *GRBS* 27 (1986) 57–91 at 73–5; M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, 1990) 115–21; S. Saïd, "Couples fraternels chez Sophocle," in A. Machin and L. Pernée (eds.), *Sophocle. Le texte, les personnages* (Aix-en-Provence, 1993) 299–328; C.A. Cox, *Household Interests* (Princeton, 1998) 108–20.

[8] Solidarity: *Il.* XI.15, 456, 709–10; XIV.484–5; XVI.675, XXIV.792. Death: *Il.* V.148–58 and 541–60; VI.421; XI.101–2, 122–47, 329–34; XVI.317–29; XX.460–62; XXIII.636–9; XXIV.603–9; C. Trypanis, "Brothers fighting together in the Iliad," *RhM* 106 (1963) 289–97; P. Walcot, *Greek Peasants. Ancient and Modern* (Manchester, 1970) 79; L. Hopkins, "The Iliad and the Henriad: epics and brothers," *Class. Mod. Litt.* 19 (1999) 149–71.

[9] For the etymologies, see J.L. García-Ramón, *Die Sprache* 34 (1988–90) 53.

[10] See also *Il.* II.729–33 (Podaleirios and Machaon), 864–6 (Mesthles and Antiphos), 876–75 (Nastes and Amphimachos); IV.273–4 (the two Aiantes), V.592–5 (Ares and Enyo), XII.94 (Helenos and Deiphobos), 196 (Hector and Poulydamas).

back to Indo-European times and can hardly be separated from the 'Dioskouric' myth.[11]

On the other hand, we can also note here the phenomenon of refraction, as it has recently been called.[12] Myth as well as oral tradition does not only reflect the world of everyday life, but it also simplifies and exaggerates everyday life in order to concentrate on a few, symbolically productive characteristics. Regarding brothers, this process is particularly clear in the rich Greek tradition, since not only in Homer but also in Attic tragedy and comedy (below) there is a clear preference for pairs of brothers.[13] The preference must be old, considering the Indo-European usage of the dual for brothers, such as *Aiante* for Aiax and Teukros or *Castores* for Castor and Pollux.[14] The 'simplification' also enabled the storytellers to picture contrasting brothers, such as Epimetheus and Prometheus: Hesiod's depiction of a 'dumb' and a 'clever' brother. This oscillation between 'realistic' and 'symbolic' portraiture can also be found in the older traditions of Israel with its many pairs of brothers: Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, Simeon and Levi who avenge the honour of their sister Dinah,[15] Joseph and Benjamin, Moses and Aaron.

For historical times, Herodotus proves an interesting source. His many stories of Greek brothers emphasize above all loyalty and cooperation, as in, for example, the famous narrative of Cleobis and Biton who together pulled the ox wagon, with their mother inside it, to a festival of Hera (1.31). In fact, in his longer tales Herodotus consistently distinguishes between the harmony of Greek fraternal relationships and the non-Greek ones that display discord and violence. Unlike the Greeks, Egyptians (2.108), Persians (3.30, 9.113) and Scythians (4.76) even commit fratricide. The exception that confirms the rule is the Samian tyrant

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[11] H.W. Singor, *Oorsprong en betekenis van de hoplietenphalanx in het archaïsche Griekenland* (Diss. Leiden, 1988) 138–40; add J.N. Bremmer, "Oorsprong, functie en verval van de pentekonter," *Utrechtse Historische Cahiers* 11.1/2 (1990) 1–11 at 5; R. Caprini, "Hengist e Horsa, uomini e cavalli," *Maia* 46 (1994) 197–214; M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 190, but add to his bibliography in note 83: R. Wolfram, *Die gekreuzten Pferdeköpfe als Giebelzeichen* (Vienna, 1968). The phenomenon has been overlooked by J. Latacz, *Homers Ilias, Gesamtkommentar*, vol. II.2 (Munich, 2003) 228 and I. Sforza, *L'eroe e il suo doppio* (Pisa, 2007) 69–76, in otherwise useful enumerations of pairs of commanders.

[12] R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 87f.

[13] Huys, "Twistende broers"; Saïd, "Couples fraternels chez Sophocle".

[14] As was shown by J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* I (Göttingen, 1953) 538–46; note also J. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* (Innsbruck, 1981) 386–8 (Castores); Janko on *Iliad* XIII.46.

[15] In Greece, too, brothers were supposed to guard the honour of their sisters, see this volume, Chapter XV, section 5.

Polycrates who kills his brother Pantagnotus and exiles his other brother Syloson (3.39). Interestingly, at first he had divided the *polis* into three parts amongst the brothers, and the reversal of this division characterises him as a barbarian.[16]

Yet our fullest evidence naturally comes from Athens, but this city is unlikely to have been highly atypical in this respect. We are particularly fortunate in that fourth-century forensic speeches supply various examples of what Athenian males, who constituted the juries, expected of such relationships. One man claimed that he would not conceal even his mother's mistreatment of his brother (Dem. 36.20) and another man claimed that he and his half-brother never quarrelled (Isaeus 9.30). This unanimity and closeness between brothers was evidently the general expectation, since one brother might be sued as the heir of another ([Dem.] 35.3) or asked to provide information regarding his dead brother's financial affairs (Lysias 32.26–7). Opponents could dismiss testimony by arguing that it came from a brother ([Dem.] 47.11, 46) or they could state that damning testimony had to be true because it came from a brother (Dem. 29.15, 23). This expectation regarding the brother's role was so strong that, when his brother Pasicles did not join him in prosecuting Phormion, Apollodorus insisted that he was not really his father's son (Dem. 45.83–4). The feeling that brothers should be very close and supportive of one another is also reflected in the proverb 'let a brother help a man', which is quoted by Plato (*Rep.* 362d).[17] In his *Nicomachean Ethics* (8.12), Aristotle also dedicates a few observations to the fraternal relationship. He observes the close friendship between brothers and even notes that brothers are "in a sense the same identity in different bodies" (tr. Barnes). In Greece, we find this feeling also reflected in the fact that closed groups of males and warriors called themselves *phrateres*, the inherited Indo-European term for 'brothers';[18] the normal Greek word for 'brother', *adelphos*, was an innovation, but stressed the origin from the same womb.[19] As often,

[16] Thus, rightly, E.K. Anhalt, "Polycrates and His Brothers: Herodotus' Depiction of Fraternal Relationships in the Histories," *Class. World* 98 (2005) 139–52.

[17] The proverb also is cited by Diogenianus 3.29; Apostolius 1.36; Macarius 1.29 (a slight variant).

[18] For the etymology see now V. Blažek, "Indo-European Kinship Terms in *-Hter," in O. Šefcik and B. Vykypel (eds.), *Grammaticus. Studia linguistica Adolfo Erharto quinque et septuagenario oblata* (Brno, 2001) 24–33 at 24f.

[19] For these terms see E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, 2 vols (Paris, 1969) I.212–5; differently, but not wholly persuasively, J.-L. Perpillou, *Recherches lexicales en grec ancien* (Leuven, 1996) 137–51.

the playwright Menander (fr. 810) well sums up the ideal: "passion (*erôs*) for concord is a sweet thing among brothers".[20]

3. *Brothers in ancient Rome*

It will hardly be surprising to find the same situation in ancient Rome.[21] Unlike Israel and Greece, Rome had preserved only a few traditions that predate its first centuries. Our material therefore mainly derives from the last centuries BC, when the many civil wars gave plenty of opportunity to brothers to demonstrate their mutual affection or hatred. One of the oldest testimonia is at the same time one of the most illuminating. Gellius (13.10.4) relates that Nigidius Figulus, the most learned Roman after Varro in the first century BC, "explains the word 'brother' (*frater*) with a no less clever and precise etymology: a brother is nearly a second self (*fere alter*)". In other words, similarity was the constituting factor of the Roman fraternal identity. Good brothers had and did everything in common.[22] This feeling was even translated into law. According to the jurist Papinian, "the more thoughtful people recognize the natural affection between fathers and sons and among brothers as a basis for good faith in dealings" (*Dig.* 17.1.54.*pr*).

Brothers were expected to share social (§ 6), political and military obligations. From the area of politics, it is sufficient to mention the names of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus and to notice that there were two pairs of brothers among the conspirators against Caesar.[23] Given the militaristic nature of Roman society, it is not surprising to find several examples of brothers of, presumably, more or less the same age, who went together on campaign or even shared the highest commands. Three brothers Fabii fought together against Veii in 479 BC (Livy 2.46.5–7);

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[20] See also C.A. Cox, "Sibling relationships in Menander," in A. Bresson *et al.* (eds.), *Parenté et société dans le monde grec de l'antiquité à l'âge moderne* (Bordeaux, 2006) 153–8 at 157f.

[21] C.J. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus. Fraternal* Pietas *in Roman Law, Literature, and Society* (Princeton, 1997).

[22] But note the epigram by Domitius Marsus (1) on Bavius: *omnia cum Bauio communia frater habebat,/ unanimi fratres sicut habere solent.* But the *amicitia* comes to an end when "the wife of Bavius A refuses to be held in partnership like everything else", cf. E. Courtney, *The Fragementary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 2003^2) 300–1, 520–1, who also quotes Quintilian, *Decl.* 321.8: q*uid est aliud fraternitas quam divisus spiritus?*

[23] F. Hinard, "Solidarités familiales et ruptures à l'époque des guerres civiles et de la proscription," in J. Andreau and H. Bruhns (eds.), *Parenté et stratégies familiales dans l'antiquité romaine* (Rome, 1990) 550–70 at 560.

in the Second Punic War, Scipio Africanus was accompanied by his younger brother Asiagenus, and Titus and Lucius Flaminius defeated the Achaean League in 198–7 BC.[24] As Romans told in horror, if not necessarily truthfully, in the same war, Hannibal pitted prisoner brothers against brothers—an interesting, if neglected testimony to the occurrence of brothers in wars (Val. Max. 9.2.ext.2). In his *Aeneid*, Vergil imitates Homer, but probably also reality, by letting many brothers be slain in the wars between Trojans and their opponents 'for rhetorical or pathetic effect'.[25] At first sight, though, the most pathetic example is that of the civil war of 89 BC when a soldier unwittingly killed his brother on the other side. When he recognized his brother, 'he let loose a loud cry of grief. Then, after he built a funeral pyre for his brother, he stabbed himself over the pyre and was burned with the same fire' (Livy, *Ep.* 79). Unfortunately, the anecdote is of doubtful authenticity,[26] although it is still indicative of what was expected of the fraternal relationship. And indeed, several anecdotes told how brothers perished together in the civil wars.[27] The support of brothers is still attested in the first century AD when during Tiberius' reign M. Scribonius Libo Drusus appeared at his treason trial leaning on his brother's arm (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.29) and the Secundi brothers were abandoned by everybody except themselves (Tacitus, *Ann.* 5.8, 6.18).

4. *Tensions and fratricide in Israel*

When we compare what we have seen so far, it seems clear that in all three societies there was a strong stress on and praise of harmony and solidarity between brothers. At the same time, though, it is impossible to overlook the fact that we find a large amount of ideology in our sources. The extent to which we can also speak of a description of real fraternal relations is much more difficult to establish. Yet common sense suggests that ancient brothers must also have known their less harmonious moments, and it is indeed possible to identify possible causes of discord. In Israel, the inheritance must have been a frequent source

[24] Livy (40.8.15) mentions several other fraternal couples whose *pietas* led to their own glory and that of Rome, such as T. and L. Quinctius Flaminius, P. and L. as well as their father and uncle Cn. and P. Cornelius Scipio.

[25] S.J. Harrison, *Vergil, Aeneid 10* (Oxford, 1991) 94.

[26] A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus Reviewed* (Oxford, 1998) 13.

[27] App. *BC* 4.22.

of friction, since the first-born received double the amount from the others (*Deuteronomy* 21.17; see also *1 Chronicles* 5.1–2). Esau's selling of his birthright is a nice example of the importance of this factor (*Genesis* 25.29–34), although the episode also serves to picture Esau in a negative way. Another factor could be the special affection of the father for one of his sons, as in the case of Jacob's love for Joseph, the "son of his old age" (*Genesis* 37.3). To avoid such deadly rivalries there was a possibility, though: Abraham sent his concubine Hagar and her son Ishmael away into the wilderness and the sons of his other concubines "eastward to the east country" (*Genesis* 21.14, 25.6).

In some cases, rivalry could end in fratricide. In addition to the example of Cain and Abel, such a murder is mentioned in the Old Testament only in very serious circumstances or as a characterisation of an extremely bad person. After the Israelites had begun to worship the Golden Calf, Moses ordered the Levites to kill the worshippers, even their own brothers (*Exodus* 32.27, 29), Abimelek hired "worthless and reckless fellows" and murdered his seventy (!) brothers (*Judges* 9), and Absalom, a man who did not shrink from revolt against his own father David (*2 Samuel* 15), had his brother Amnon murdered, a case of 'soft' fratricide, in order to revenge the honour of his sister Tamar (*2 Samuel* 13). In royal families the struggle for succession could also be deadly, as is illustrated by the struggle for the throne at the end of David's life between Solomon and his elder half-brother Adoniah, which ended in the latter's execution (*1 Kings* 1–2), just as Jehoram murdered his brothers after succeeding Jehoshaphat (*2 Chronicles* 21.4, 13). In these cases, as so often in world history, the rise of a new king went hand in hand with the killing of his brothers as possible rivals.[28]

Rivalry between brothers is virtually inevitable between twins, who immediately have to compete for their mother's milk and later in life must compete for succession to their father's position.[29] In many societies, therefore, twins are a symbol of rivalry and in various communities they are expelled altogether.[30] It is this symbolic position that explains their

[28] For other cases see, for example, A. Davis, "Fraternity and Fratricide in Late Imperial China," *Am. Hist. Rev.* 105 (2000) 1630–40; A. Blok, *Honour and Violence* (Cambridge, 2001) 282f.

[29] Unfortunately, we cannot reconstruct the plot of the various comedies entitled 'Twins', cf. Kassel and Austin on Xenarchus' *Didymoi*.

[30] For a full bibliography, see J.M. Schoffeleers, "Twins and Unilateral Figures in Central and Southern Africa: Symmetry and Asymmetry in the Symbolization of the Sacred," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21 (1991) 345–72; A. Meurant, *L'idée de gémellité dans*

prominence in the mythologies of various cultures, another clear case of refraction. In Israel we have of course the famous example of Jacob and Esau, who were already quarrelling even in the womb—another dramatisation of the rivalry (*Genesis* 25.22–3). Another nice example are Tamar's twins, of whom the first was marked with a scarlet thread, but then pulled its hand back and reappeared only after its twin brother (*Genesis* 38.27–30), thus surely guaranteeing a future conflict on the question of primogeniture.

It is noteworthy that fratricide and hatred between brothers is also the typical characteristic of the breakdown of society in Oriental and Jewish prophecies of doom.[31] The Egyptian *Prophecy of Neferti* (*ANET* 445: beginning second millennium BC) gives as an example of the topsy-turvy situation of the land: "I show thee thy son as a foe, the brother as an enemy, and a man killing his (own) father". The *Admonitions of Iwuper* (1.5, 5.11: *ca.* 1300 BC) mentions as a sign of societal dissolution: "A man regards his son as his enemy…A man strikes his maternal brother". In the Babylonian poem of *Erra and Ishum* (V: *ca.* eighth century BC) Erra pictures total chaos, in which "tribe shall not spare tribe, nor man man, nor brother brother, and they shall slay one another".[32] In Micah's apocalyptic picture, "the good man is perished out of the earth: and there is none upright among men: they all lie in wait for blood: they hunt every man his brother with a net" (7.2). According to the Hellenistic *Oracle of the Potter*, in the final generation "there will be [war and…murder?] between brothers and spouses".[33] The same gruesome picture recurs in Jesus' sketch of future persecutions in *Mark* where "the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son, and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death" (13.12, cf. *Matthew* 10.12).

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la légende des origines de Rome (Brussels, 2000) 275–322; J.-P. Mayelle Ilo, *Statut mythique et scientifique de la gémellité* (Brussels, 2000).

[31] Similarly in ancient Germanic societies, cf. R. Schneider, "Brüdergemeine," in H. Beck *et al.* (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 3 (Berlin and New York, 1978) 580f.

[32] S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 2000[2]) 308.

[33] For the text of the *Oracle* see L. Koenen, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 178–209, 3 (1968) 137–8, 13 (1974) 313–9, 54 (1984) 9–13 (on the date).

5. *Tensions and fratricide in Greece*

In Greece, the most important source of trouble will have been the division of the inheritance, just as among the modern Greek Sarakatsani shepherds the strictly equal division of the inheritance was "a severe test of brotherly love".[34] Small plots of land must have caused many worries. It is understandable that Hesiod, in his *Works and Days* (376–9), advises men to have only one son, as he himself had had a quarrel with his brother Perses over their inheritance. Among the Berbers, as well as in western and northern Europe, this problem is solved by the indivisibility of the land, and the same approach sometimes took place among the Athenians.[35] Another strategy of minimizing conflict, which is also found in modern Greece, was to divide up the patrimony into shares agreed to be equal and then allocate them by lot; in this way Kronos' sons already divided the universe.[36] A third possibility was to let one brother divide up the property and the other choose his portion first ([Dem]. 48.12). Sometimes, one brother even agreed to accept a smaller portion.[37] We may perhaps add in this respect the agreement struck by the sons of Oedipus, as described in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, whereby Eteocles and Polyneices would rule during alternate years.[38] Complete prevention of rivalry was impossible, however, and in speeches from the Athenian law-court we hear of one brother depriving the other of his patrimony (Lysias 10.5) and even of a fatal assault over the division of property (Isaeus 9.17).[39] These examples will hardly have

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[34] J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964) 81.

[35] Berbers: P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Praxis* (Cambridge, 1977) 64. Europe: see the bibliography in Cox, *Household Interests*, 106 note 1. Athenians: A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* I (Oxford, 1968) 239–44; R.L. Fox, "Aspects of inheritance in the Greek world," in P. Cartledge and F.D. Harvey (eds.), *Crux. Essays presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix* (Exeter, 1985) 208–32 at 211–4.

[36] *Il.* XV.184–99, cf. W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 88–93 for the dependence of this passage on the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis* (but note the reservations of M.L. West, *The East Face of Helikon* [Oxford, 1997] 110); *Od.*14.208–9; Stesichorus fr. 222 (b). 220ff., cf. J.M. Bremer *et al., Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Leiden, 1987) 167–8; Apollod. 2.8.4; H.L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-day Greece," *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.* 87 (1956) 43–6; E. Friedl, *Vasilika* (New York, 1962) 60–4; M. Herzfeld, "Social Tension and Inheritance by Lot in Three Greek Villages," *Anthr. Quart.* 53 (1980) 91–100; P. Demont, "Lots héroïques: remarques sur le tirage au sort de l'*Iliade* aux *Sept contre Thèbes* d'Eschyle," *REG* 113 (2000) 299–325 at 309–15.

[37] Pind. fr. 52d; Lysias 16.10.

[38] This is a relatively late version of the myth, cf. A. Moreau, *Mythes grecs I: Origines* (Montpellier, 1999) 53–61.

[39] For more examples see Cox, *Household Interests*, 109–14.

been exceptions to the rule, as Plato proposed detailed legislation on the subject in his *Laws* (868c, 869cd, 873ab).

Other factors also played an important role in creating rivalry between brothers. First, in Archaic Greece, as in early Israel, there must have been competition between legitimate and bastard sons: Odysseus spins a tale in which he relates how after his father's death the legitimate sons cast lots for the patrimony, whereas he was fobbed off with very little (*Od.* 14.207–11). Then there is the difference between the older and younger brother(s).[40] The older had certain advantages. Like the eldest sister (below), he could marry first and register his name on a stone immediately after the name of his father (Thuc. 6.55). Moreover, his younger brother was expected to treat him with respect, as Polyneices insisted that Eteocles should do in Sophocles' *Oedipus in Colonus* (1422–3) and Smicrines did in Menander's *Aspis* (172, 255). And in Athenian mythology, Sophocles (fr. 24.2) portrayed Aegeus' father as giving him the best part of Attica because he was the eldest son. This inequality of privileges must also have occurred outside of Athens, since in his *Politics* (5.5.2) Aristotle mentions that certain states forbid an elder and a younger brother from holding office simultaneously. Rivalry, then, must have been endemic, and 'Brothers'—that is to say, 'Quarrelling Brothers'—was a favourite title for New Comedy plays,[41] although the genre itself of course usually provided a happy ending, unlike tragedy, which liked to wallow in the dreadful consequences of this rivalry.[42] Around the end of the first century AD, Plutarch's essay *On Brotherly Love* still noted that the disparity between an older and a younger brother's rights and roles could be a source of rivalry.[43]

We can note another strategy for avoiding such kinds of fraternal rivalries by observing that the Dioskouroi are characterised as "Castor, tamer of horses, and Polydeukes, good with his fists" (*Il.* III.279 = *Od.* 11.300), and Hector and Poulydamas, who had been born on the same day, as "man of the spear and man of speech" (*Il.* XVIII.249–52). The founders of Thebes, the brothers Amphion and Zethus, are described

[40] For primogeniture in Greece see L. Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la République athénienne*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1897) 450–7.

[41] See the enumeration by Kassel and Austin on Diphilus fr. 3.

[42] Unfortunately, the entry on fratricides in Hyginus (*Fab*. 236: *qui fratres suos occiderunt*) has been lost.

[43] Plut. *Mor*. 478a–492d, cf. H.-J. Klauck, *Alte Welt und neuer Glaube* (Fribourg, 1994) 83–98 ("Die Bruderliebe bei Plutarch und im vierten Makkabäerbuch").

as a musician and an athlete,[44] and after his death the sons of Jason were raised by Orpheus as a musician and a warrior.[45] In Clement of Alexandria's version of Demeter's search for Persephone, all three sons of the Eleusinian king have a different profession: Triptolemos is a cowherd, Eumolpos a shepherd, and Eubouleus a swineherd.[46] Plutarch (*M*. 486b–d) already interpreted these cases of differentiation as conscious attempts at preventing rivalries between brothers. And indeed, such strategies can be parallelled in modern times. Like the Berbers, the Sarakatsani tried to discourage rivalry between brothers by encouraging them to pursue different vocations: for example, by making one a muleteer and the other a cheese-maker.[47]

Hostile brothers are well known from Greek mythology: the myths of the deadly consequences of the struggle between Atreus and Thyestes or between the sons of Oedipus are arguably the most important myths of the archaic era: there clearly is a warning message in these myths. Yet actual fratricide is mentioned relatively rarely in Greek myth, and hardly at all in reality.[48] Tydeus killed his brother Olenias (Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 122a = F 122 Fowler) or, according to another version, Melanippos (Hyg. *Fab*. 69) during a hunt, just as Bellerophon accidentally killed his brother Deliades (Apollod. 2.3.1), and Peleus and/or Telamon their half-brother Phocus.[49] It seems significant that these killings are accidental, just as Oedipus killed his father inadvertently. Apparently, Greek mythical imagination found it hard to imagine an intentional fratricide, just as it found it impossible to imagine an intentional parricide (§ 7). In the case of the already mentioned notorious brotherly quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes, myth relates the dishing up of Thyestes' sons during a banquet

[44] Tragedy liked to play with this last opposition, cf. F. Heger, "Amphion," in *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 718–23; M. Schmidt, "Lydische Harmonie," in J.-P. Descoeudres (ed.), *Eumousia. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (Sydney, 1990) 221–6; S.R. Slings, "The Quiet Life in Euripides' *Antiope*," in H. Hoffmann (ed.), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991) 137–51; Z. Ritoók, "Amphion and Icarus," *Acta Ant. Hung.* 36 (1995) 87–99; V. Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine* (Kilchberg, 2005) 125–9.

[45] Eur. *Hyps*. 1622–3, cf. W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* III (Göttingen, 2006) 114f.

[46] Clem. Alex. *Pr*. 2.20.1. For the source of this tradition see M. Herrero de Jáuregui, "Las fuentes de Clem. Alex., *Protr*. II 12–22: un tratado sobre los misterios y una teogonía órfica," *Emerita* 75 (2007) 19–50.

[47] Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, 174–6; a similar specialisation among the Berbers: Bourdieu, *Outline*, 63.

[48] Plut. *M*. 478c notes the rarity of the theme, but see J. Alaux, "Fratricide et lien fraternel: quelques repères grecs," *Quaderni di Storia* 23 (1997) 107–32.

[49] Phocus: Moreau, *Mythes grecs* I, 130.

as a consequence of the fratricide: cannibalism was also a terrible crime, but it could be more easily imagined.[50] It is only in the fourth century that Plato can consider fratricide in civil strife as 'pure'; yet the murder of a brother in cold blood still demands the severest penalties.[51]

Finally, it is not surprising that Greek mythology had its sets of warring twins as well, such as Eteocles and Polynices, who are sometimes described as twins,[52] Pelias and Neleus (Apollod. 1.9.9) or Danaus and Aegyptus (Apollod. 2.1.4).[53] The twins Proitos and Acrisius (Apollod. 2.2.1) and Panopeus and Krisos (Hes. fr. 58; Lycophron 939–40) were already quarrelling even in the womb, like Jacob and Esau. Is this an example of literary dependency or is the motif more widespread?

6. *Tensions and fratricide in Rome*

In Rome, we sometimes have a glimpse of fraternal dissent, as when Valerius Maximus (7.8) tells an anecdote about a Transalpine Roman who was disinherited by his brother and then read out in public his own testament which showed that he himself would have left most of his possessions to that brother. Yet, precisely regarding inheritance, the Romans had already at an early stage developed legal arrangements that made the sharing of the inherited property, the so-called *consortium*, a social ideal.[54] The largest strain on fraternal harmony, though, proved to be the difficult political circumstances in the last century BC. This century knew a number of bloody civil wars and led many brothers to take different sides. We are well informed about the relationship between Cicero and his brother Quintus, who chose the opposite sides of Pompey and Caesar.[55] Lepidus and Plancus even had their brothers proscribed, since they had been the first to vote Lepidus and Marc Antony enemies of the people. The proscription made their soldiers mockingly sing during their triumphal procession: *de germanis* ('Germanic peoples' but also 'brothers'), *non de Gallis duo triumphant consules*.[56] The fraternal strains in the Roman imperial family are also well documented, as with the sometimes deadly

[50] For cannibalism see most recently Moreau, *Mythes grecs* I, 201–19.
[51] Pl. *Leg*. 868c, 869cd, 873ab, cf. R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 137.
[52] Eur. *Phoen*. 1288, 1297; Stat. *Theb*. 1.34.
[53] For these and more examples see Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles*, 138–40.
[54] Bannon *Brothers of Romulus*, 12–61.
[55] Bannon, *ibidem*, 101–16.
[56] Velleius Paterculus 2.67.3.

rivalries between Drusus and Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 17), Nero and his half-brother Britannicus, and Titus and Domitian (Suet. *Tit.* 19).

Fratricide was a very popular theme in the first century BC during the already mentioned civil wars.[57] Actual fratricide is not attested very often, but the theme loomed large in the contemporary Roman imagination, and was clearly considered one of the most nightmarish aspects of the civil war in the eyes of the last generations of the first century BC. Poets often alluded to it,[58] and Romulus, the celebrated founder of Rome, now became a suspicious figure that would never again manage to lose the blemish of fratricide.[59]

7. *Conclusions*

Having looked at fraternal relations in Israel, Greece and Rome, we will now first formulate two conclusions and then return to the question of why the first crime was a fratricide. First, why do we find this frequent stress on fraternal cooperation in these societies? In pre-state and proto-state societies such as Israel, Greece and Rome, the state had not yet fully acquired the monopoly on violence. Males, therefore, had to be able to depend unreservedly on their brothers and, possibly, on the rest of their family in order to survive in an unstable and highly competitive world. The phenomenon is still largely under researched, but we may note that early Germanic sources are also reticent in portraying fratricide.[60] This view of the importance of solidarity among brothers as the guarantee for a succesful life could still be found in modern Greece, where the Sarakatsani attached great value to the solidarity of brothers and promoted it by treating brothers as absolutely equal. They had to take an equal share in avenging the family honour and received an exactly equal share of the patrimony.[61] Similarly, the Dutch anthropologist Anton Blok, one of the foremost authorities on the history of the *mafia*, notes that, among family relationships, 'in particular, sets of brothers have always been very common in *mafia* families, both in the

[57] Hinard, "Solidarités familiales," 558.
[58] Catullus 64.399; Lucr. 3.72; Verg. *G.* 2.496, 510 and *Aen.* 7.355 with Horsfall.
[59] See, especially, H. Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Leiden, 1956) 169–83; R. Schilling, *Rites, cultes, dieux de Rome* (Paris, 1979) 102–20; Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles*, 141f.
[60] F. Geissler, "Bruder," in Beck, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 3, 552–5.
[61] Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, 174–6; Walcot, *Greek Peasants*, 52–4, 78f.

city and in the countryside,' a phenomenon he explicitly connects with the absence of a strong public authority.[62]

Secondly, according to a recent survey, about 10% of homicides in agrarian societies involve fratricide.[63] There is no reason, then, to suppose that Israelites, when hearing the story of Cain and Abel, would not have related to the theme. But why is fratricide so common and vicious? The already mentioned Anton Blok has recently published an interesting article on 'the narcissism of minor differences'.[64] People who are very close often exaggerate their differences in order to maintain their own identity. The result is a more intense confrontation than would be the case with less familiar enemies, as Euripides (fr. 975) already noted regarding brothers. This cross-cultural mechanism has led to terrible civil wars—one need to think only of Ruanda or the former Yugoslavia—but also, although not mentioned by Blok, to many bitter schisms in Dutch Protestant churches. Another anthropologist noted that "among men, coexistence of amity and lethal aggression has been ethnographically documented in a number of politically decentralized societies, particularly those with strong norms of harmony and cooperation",[65] precisely the situation we have found in the Mediterranean.

Finally, having seen the great stress on cooperation as well as the association of fraternal discord and fratricide with apocalyptic prophecies, we can perhaps better understand why the author of *Genesis* thought it fitting to demonstrate the dire consequences of man's expulsion from Paradise by immediately following up that expulsion with the first fratricide. Cain's killing of Abel must have always reminded them of the fragility of their fraternal relationships and the loss of a world without violence.

Admittedly, one could object that the author of *Genesis* might also have used patricide or matricide instead of fratricide to denote the beginning of a life outside Paradise. However, this does not seem very probable as regards Israel. In the Old Testament we do not find any mention of those two heinous crimes, and they seem to have been almost beyond imagination. This was somewhat different in Greece and Rome. In Greece, patricide was also hardly imaginable. There are no

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[62] A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860–1960* (Oxford, 1988[2]) 179; idem, *Honour and Violence*, 88 (quote).

[63] M. Daley and M. Wilson, *Homicide* (New York, 1988) 25.

[64] Blok, *Honour and Violence*, 115–35.

[65] B.M. Knauft, *Good Company and Violence: sorcery and social action in a lowland New Guinea society* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985) 337.

representations of the crime, and the Athenians found it even emotionally difficult to pronounce the word 'parricide'.[66] When it happened in mythology it is always described as having happened accidentally, as in the cases of Oedipus and Leucippus, or as being justified, as in the case of the savage Perrhaebian Triopas.[67] Matricide was somewhat different. Early mythology knew the famous cases of Alcmaeon and Orestes, and it is striking that in the end these matricides do not seem to have suffered lasting punishments for their killings.[68] In Rome, on the other hand, matricide seems to have been unimaginable, whereas patricide must have always been a possibility.[69]

In modern Western society we no longer depend on our brothers and, consequently, fratricide is becoming rare. In fact, it seems that 'brother', used as a way to address people who are not family, is rapidly losing ground, except perhaps among African-Americans; the term 'brotherhood' is no longer used for new societies, and 'brethren' has become distinctly archaic-sounding. A modern author would surely have chosen a different murder than fratricide to indicate man's loss of Paradise.[70]

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[66] Bremmer, "Oedipus and the Greek Oedipus Complex," in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1988[2]) 41–56 at 49.

[67] Oedipus: Bremmer, "Oedipus". Leucippus: Parthenius 5, cf. J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999) 398f. Triopas: scholion T and Eust. on *Iliad* IV.88.

[68] M. Delcourt, *Oreste et Alcméon. Étude sur la projection légendaire du matricide en Grèce* (Paris, 1959), to be read with the critique by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus as Son and Stepson* (London, 1979) 11–7; Parker, *Miasma*, 377 (Alcmeon), 386–8 (Orestes).

[69] For the crime and its peculiar punishment see most recently F. Egmond and P. Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouse* (Baltimore and London, 1997) 133–56; D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London and New York, 1998) 216f.

[70] For various suggestions and corrections I am most grateful to Richard Buxton, Peter van Minnen and Eibert Tigchelaar.

CHAPTER FIVE

GREEK FALLEN ANGELS: KRONOS AND THE TITANS

Already in the 1940s it was noticed that Hesiod, by ways that are still obscure to us, had derived part of his material on Kronos from the Hurrian-Hittite *Song of Kumarbi*. Nilsson still accepted the derivation only hesitatingly,[1] but subsequent investigations have shown that the myth and ritual of Kronos and his Titans are one more example of the fascination that the Orient exerted on Archaic Greek culture.[2] Yet the Hurrian-Hittite myth also seems to have travelled to Israel, as there are several traces in the Old Testament of a rebellion-in-heaven myth, where God fights and defeats his opponents and casts them into the netherworld;[3] moreover, the Jews themselves sometimes connected their fallen angels with the Greek succession myth.[4] In this chapter I will therefore first look at the oldest, if virtually completely lost epic about the revolt of the Titans (§ 1) and at the individual Titans (§ 2), then make some observations on the connection between the Titans and anthropogony (§ 3), and conclude with the appropriation of the Titans by the Jews (§ 4). In an appendix we present a recently published Ethiopic account of Zeus' struggle against Kronos.

1. *The Titanomachy*

More than any other mythological group in antiquity, the Titans were credited with all kinds of negative qualities. For example, in case of a crime people called out Titans' names against the criminals in order

[1] M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich, 1967[3]) 515f.

[2] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 122–3; for a different and, in my view, less persuasive analysis see M.L. West, "Hesiod's Titans," *JHS* 105 (1985) 174–5, who connects the origin of the Titans with Delphi.

[3] Old Testament: *Ezekiel* 28.11–19 at 16–17, cf. also 26.17–21 and 32.2–8; *Isaiah* 15.5–21. New Testament (passages that mention a struggle between God and his angels, who are then thrown into hell): *1 Timothy* 3.6; *2 Peter* 2.4; *Jude* 6; *Revelation* 12.7–9.

[4] For the fallen angels see, more in general, C. Auffarth and L. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Myth of the Fallen Angels* (Leiden, 2004); A.Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 2005).

to invoke help;[5] Greek comedy considered them to be all too active pederasts;[6] everything that threatens life was ascribed to them (Aelian, fr. 89); to dream of them was favourable for those with secret intentions (Artemidorus 2.39); their rule was called 'lawless and undisciplined' (Menander Rhetor 438.31), while they themselves were 'wild gods' (Hsch. α 802). This bad opinion continued in Christian literature, where the Church father Irenaeus (*Adv. haer*. 5.30.3) even regarded Titan as the most plausible interpretation of the beast in *Revelation* 13, since 'Teitan' adds up to 666—an interpretation that probably explains Hesychius' lemma: 'Titan: anti-Christ' (τ 971).[7] This bad reputation was also reflected in the fact that noxious animals, such as spiders and vipers, were said to spring from their blood (Nic. *Ther*. 8ff) and, probably, beans from their seed (*I. Smyrna* 728.16). Titans, then, were clearly notorious for their bad and lawless behaviour all through antiquity.

Who were these creatures and why were they so vilified? The great problem for any student of the Titans is the lack of a sustained narrative in our older sources.[8] Homer mentions the Titans only a few times,[9] Hesiod is much more elaborate in his *Theogony* (617–719), but the most detailed exposition of the Titans probably occurred in a poem of the Epic Cycle, the *Titanomachy*, which several sources ascribe to Eumelos of Corinth or Arctinus of Miletus.[10] As its name suggests, the epic chronicled the struggle between Zeus and the Titans for sovereignty, but it clearly was huge, since it began with the genesis of the gods and ended with, perhaps, the creation of humankind. Unfortunately, only few fragments have survived, and we cannot even be sure that there

[5] Nicander *FGrH* 271–2 F 4; Diogenianus 8.47; Apostolius 16.51; E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum. Supplementum* (Hildesheim, 1961) I.44.

[6] Myrtilus, *Titanopanes*; Cratinus Iun. fr. 2; see also Aristophanes fr. 15 Slater; Suet. *Peri blasphêmiôn*, 17; Lucian, *Salt*. 21; Hsch. α 802, 6862, κ 2225, τ 971; Suda τ 677; Eust. on *Il.* XIV.279 and *Od.* 1.298.

[7] For unpersuasive observations on the connection between Titans and the Antichrist see W. Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians* (London and New York, 2003) 343–9.

[8] For the Titans see K. Bapp, "Titanes," in W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 5 (Leipzig, 1916–24) 987–1004; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* V.2 (Berlin, 1937) 157–83 (1929[1]); E. Wüst, "Titanes," in *RE* II.6 (1937) 1491–1508; E. Schubert, *Die Entwicklung der Titanenvorstellung von Homer bis Aischylos* (Diss. Vienna, 1967: *non vidi*); J. Bažant, "Titanes," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 31–2; G. Mussies, "Titans," in *DDD*[2], 872–4.

[9] *Il.* V.898; VIII.478–9; XIV.274, 279; XV.225.

[10] For a detailed analysis of the poem see M.L. West, "'Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?," *JHS* 122 (2002) 109–33.

was only one *Titanomachy*. Comparison with another lost early epic, the *Cypria*, suggests that several versions may have existed, probably adapted to local performances (below), although all will have contained the main events of the struggle between Zeus and the Titans.[11]

The absence of ancient material is only partly remedied by the fact that the mythographer we call Apollodorus (1.1–2.5) provides us with a narrative that has incorporated Hesiod's version of the Titans and the Cyclic *Titanomachy*. His detailed report should not lure us in thinking that he had read many old poems or plays. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that this mythographer, like other surviving ones, worked from both a mixture of canonical poets and existing compilations. Apollodorus used the famous mythographers Pherecydes of Athens and Acusilaus of Argos but also poets and epics of the Archaic Age. Naturally, he knew Homer, (pseudo-)Hesiod, whose *Catalogue* (*c.* 580/570)[12] he closely followed in the construction of his handbook, Stesichorus and the Epic Cycle, a series of epics that focused on the episodes preceding and following the Trojan War.[13] These poems, such as the *Ilias Parva*, *Iliupersis*, *Cypria*, *Nostoi* and the *Telegony*, had not yet been lost in his time, and Apollodorus may have used them extensively.[14] Yet his main source, directly or indirectly, must have been the enormously learned, but unfortunately lost work *On Gods* by the Athenian scholar Apollodorus (*ca.* 180–120 BC), who probably also gave him his later name.[15] The time of his writing seems to have been the later second century AD.[16]

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[11] Cf. J.S. Burgess, "The Non-Homeric Cypria," *TAPA* 126 (1996) 77–99; M. Finkelberg, "The *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multiformity in Oral and Written Tradition," *Class. Philol.* 95 (2000) 1–11.

[12] For the date see this volume, Chapter II, note 10.

[13] The close connection with Homer may in some cases be a later development; cf. J.S. Burgess, "The Non-Homeric *Cypria*," *TAPA* 126 (1996) 77–99; but see also K. Dowden, "Homer's Sense of Text," *JHS* 116 (1996) 47–61.

[14] For these poems and their use by Apollodorus see M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989); J.-C. Carrière and B. Massonie, *La Bibliothèque d'Apollodore* (Paris, 1991) 12–7; A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton and London, 1995) 397f.

[15] See most recently M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden, 1997) 25–8, 108–11, 164–9; M. Huys, "125 Years of Scholarship on Apollodorus the Mythographer: A Bibliographical Survey," *L'Antiquité Classique* 66 (1997) 319–51, overlooked by A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (New York, 2004) 93–106; M. Huys and D. Colomo, "Bibliographical Survey on Apollodorus the Mythographer. A Supplement," *L'Antiquité Classique* 73 (2004) 219–37.

[16] Carrière and Massonie, *La Bibliothèque d'Apollodore*, 9–12.

Apollodorus' survey is the only detailed version of the Titanic myth that we have. I will therefore closely follow it in my subsequent analysis, and in continuous comparison with the few fragments known of the *Titanomachy*.[17] In this way, we might arrive, at least in outline, at the oldest known version of this intriguing struggle. Apollodorus starts his version with the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia, as did the Epic Cycle (T 1 D = 13 B), but the *Titanomachy* put Aither at the beginning of everything.[18] The detail shows that the Epic Cycle started with the coming into being of the gods, but in this respect was not identical with Hesiod's *Theogony*, which begins with the wedding of Ouranos and Gaia. This independence is also confirmed by Hesiod's mention of the Hundred-Handers and Cyclopes as children of Ouranos and Gaia. Our poem mentions only Aigaion, 'the son of Gaia and Pontos' (fr. 3 D/B) who, unlike in Homer (*Il.* I.403) and Hesiod (*Th.* 617ff), was an ally of the Titans,[19] whereas Hesiod's primeval couple generates the three Hundred-Handers (Briareos, Gyges,[20] and Kottos). Aigaion was the eponymous ruler of Carystus-Aigaie and worshipped in Euboean Chalcis, whereas Briareos was the father of Euboea (Hsch. τ 972).[21] The mythological tradition of the Hundred-Hander(s) thus points to the island of Euboea. This is hardly contradicted by the fact that Kottos is a typically Thracian name,[22] since Thracian influence on Euboea is not improbable, considering its relative vicinity. As Homer, like the *Titanomachy*, mentions only one Hundred-Hander whom "the gods call Briareos but all mortals Aigaion" (*Il.* I.403),[23] Hesiod probably expanded upon an older tradition of only one Hundred-Hander.

Hesiod also transformed older traditions in the case of the Cyclopes whom he calls Brontes, Steropes and Arges (*Th.* 140). The names clearly

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[17] For a discussion of the few fragments see W. Kranz, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Nachwirken* (Heidelberg, 1967) 89–96; M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989) 13–8.

[18] *Titanomachy*, fr. 1^{AB} D = 2 B; note that F 1^{A} D = A.R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici*, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1993–95) α 313.

[19] For the influence of the *Titanomachy* on Antimachus in this respect see V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: text and commentary* (Leiden, 1996) 108f.

[20] For Gyges see West on Hes. *Th.* 149; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2.17.14.

[21] Solinus 11.16; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Karystos*; schol. AR 1.1165; Eust. on *Il.* II.539. Verg. *Aen.*10.565 (with Harrison) still pictures him as an opponent of Zeus.

[22] Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 84; N. Theodossiev, "*Koteous Hêliou* and *Koteous Mêtros* Oreas," *Hermes* 129 (2001) 279–83.

[23] For this verse and the name Aigaion see the interesting discussion by R.L. Fowler, "Aiγ- in Early Greek Language and Myth," *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 95–113.

reflect their fabrication of the thunder as Zeus' weapon (504–5, 690–1, 707, 845–6) and are therefore hardly original.[24] The *Titanomachy* (fr. 4^{AB} D = 7 B), on the other hand, calls the two female horses of the sun Bronte and Sterope, and may not have used the Cyclopes. Their place in the early divine history, then, seems to be a Hesiodic invention, as is also suggested by the somewhat clumsy location of their begetting in the *Theogony*.[25] Moreover, the names of Hector's horses in the *Iliad* (VIII.185), Aithon and Lampos, also look inspired by the names of the mares of the sun in the *Titanomachy*.[26] Apparently, not only Hesiod but also Homer drew on an older tradition.

Aither was the father of Ouranos (fr. 1 D = 2 B), who begat a number of sons and daughters by Gaia, the Titans and Titanides. Martin West suggests that originally "they must have been a collective body…without individual names and of indefinite number".[27] This can hardly be true, since all our sources provide lists of names and there is no reason to think otherwise of the oldest tradition; the more so, since the Titans will have been the children of the primeval couple. Apollodorus lists the following sons: Okeanos, Koios, Hyperion, Krios, Iapetos and Kronos, as did Hesiod (*Th.* 133–7) and Akousilaos.[28] With the addition of Phorkys the same names occur in an Orphic poem (*OF* 179) and, albeit without Okeanos and Phorkys, in an inscription from Imbros.[29] The daughters are Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, Dione and Thia. This is the same list as in Hesiod (*Th.* 135–6) with the addition of Dione, who also occurs in the just mentioned Orphic poem.[30] Did Hesiod abbreviate an original list of fourteen sons and daughters with one of each or did later poets add to the list? Groups of seven are of course very natural in ancient poetry (unlike groups of six) but in Hittite

[24] For the thunder-weapon see M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 252f.

[25] West on Hes. *Th.* 139–53 and "'Eumelos'," 117.

[26] As observed by Janko on *Il.* XV.690–2. Of these horse-names, only Aithon is the name of several mythical horses, cf. R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 261, 324.

[27] West on Hes. *Th.* 133.

[28] Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 7 = F 7 Fowler.

[29] *IG* XII 8.9. Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 3 contains a composite list.

[30] For Dione see E. Simon, "Dione," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 411–3; G. Dunkel, "Vater Himmels Gattin," *Die Sprache* 34 (1988–90) 1–26, to be read with the comments by West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 192; O. Palagia, "Zeus Naios kai Diône stin Akropoli tôn Athinôn," *Benaki Museum Supplement* 1 (Athens 2002) 171–80. Note that Dione is absent from the list of Titanides in *POxy*. 61.4099.9–10, re-edited by Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?*, 320.

tradition the 'olden gods' (§ 2) usually number twelve.[31] Maybe the latter tradition, then, is the oldest. This is the more likely, since Plato also seems to have known an Orphic poem with only twelve Titans.[32] Later tradition occasionally mentions other Titans as well, such as Sykeus, Pallas or Atlas, but they clearly do not belong to the original list.[33]

Gaia stimulated the Titans to rise against Ouranos. All consented, except Okeanos (§ 2), but it was Kronos who cut off his father's genitals with a sickle and subsequently became king. The military usage of the sickle in Anatolia suggests an Anatolian origin of this motif, since other indications also point in that geographical direction (§ 2).[34] Kronos first released the brothers who had been chained in Tartarus, but subsequently shut them up again. He then married his sister Rhea, who bore him a number of children whom Kronos immediately swallowed, afraid as he was of a competitor for the throne. These children remained like babies in Kronos' belly: the parallel with the hiding of the first generation of gods in 'Gaia's hole' (Hes. *Th.* 158) is evident.

When Rhea was pregnant with Zeus she took refuge in Crete, where she hid the baby Zeus in a cave and gave his father a stone to swallow. Apollodorus locates the cave at Dicte, but Hesiod (484) mentions a Mt. Aigaion near Lyctus. Until now, no archaic Dictaean cave has been discovered, and Zeus' sanctuary at Dicte was an important centre of his cult only in later historical times, whereas Lyctus probably already occurs on the Linear-B tablets.[35] Consequently, Hesiod must follow here a tradition that goes back to, possibly, Minoan times. Such a Minoan connection could perhaps also be supported by the mention of the stone, since on some Minoan glyptic scenes a young god is associated with an oval stone,[36] and the struggle between the gods clearly has shifted from an Orient-inspired tradition to a Crete-inspired tradition.[37]

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[31] E.E. Elnes and P.D. Miller, "Olden Gods," in *DDD*², 641–5 at 643; West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 162f.

[32] Pl. *Tim.* 40e, cf. M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983) 121.

[33] For the fullest list see Wüst, "Titanes," 1506–8; C. Marconi, "I Titani e Zeus Olympio. Sugli Atlanti dell'*Olympieion* di Agrigento," *Prospettiva* 87–88 (1997) 2–13.

[34] Greece: U. Kron, "Sickles in Greek sanctuaries: votives and cultic instruments," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm, 1998) 187–216. Anatolia: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 12; N.V. Sekunda, "Anatolian War Sickles and the Coinage of Etenna," in R. Ashton (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey* (London, 1996) 9–17.

[35] E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997) 616.

[36] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991) 226.

[37] For the Orphic origin of this part see West, *Orphic Poems*, 121–6.

In Apollodorus, the stay in Crete is even more elaborate and evidently draws on local traditions, such as the presence of the Kouretes and the goat Amaltheia.[38]

When Zeus became an adult, he married Metis, a daughter of Okeanos. She gave Kronos a drug to swallow that forced him to vomit out the stone and Zeus' siblings. In Hesiod (*Th.* 886–900), Gaia and Ouranos warned Zeus that Metis would bear dangerous children and advised him to swallow her.[39] He followed their advice and thus prevented the birth of a possible pretender, a narrative possibility taken up by some Orphics (§ 2). With the aid of his siblings Zeus started a revolt against Kronos and the Titans. After a war of ten years, Gaia advised him to release the Cyclopes if he wanted to gain victory. So Zeus slew their gaoler Kampe, released them and with the help of weapons forged by the Cyclopes he defeated the Titans.[40] They were imprisoned in Tartarus guarded by the Hundred-Handers; Homer calls them already the 'lower gods', and as 'subterranean Titans' they now have emerged in a Sicilian *defixio*.[41] Zeus' role in the victory dance procession was mentioned in the *Titanomachy* (fr. 5 D = 6 B).[42] After the defeat the three main gods divided the universe between them by lot: Zeus gained the sky and sovereignty, Poseidon the sea and Pluto the underworld. The same connection between victory and lottery is already found in Homer (*Il.* XV.185–93) and Orphic mythology, and, like some earlier discussed motifs, probably goes back to an older tradition as well.[43]

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[38] Local traditions: Bob Fowler compares Diod. Sic. 5.80, quoting 'Epimenides' *FGrH* 457 F 17 and 468 F 1 = 'Epimenides' F 4 Fowler and concludes (*per* email): "it's perfectly credible that there were native Cretan traditions which got into the mythographical tradition". Kouretes: B. Legras, "Mallokouria et mallocourètes. Un rite de passage dans l'Égypte romaine," *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993) 113–27; F. Graf, "Ephesische und andere Kureten," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1999) 255–62. Amaltheia: Bremmer, "Amaltheia," in *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (1996) 568–69; C. Grottanelli, *Sette storie bibliche* (Brescia, 1998) 166.

[39] For the other testimonies of this swallowing see T. Schmidt on *POxy*. 65.4460, which misspells Metis as Menthis.

[40] Note that Zeus is called 'he who fought against the Titans' in a fourth-century Koan *defixio*: *SEG* 47.1291.27.

[41] *Il.* XIV.274, XV.225; Hes. *Th.* 851; *SEG* 47.1442. In Antimachus fr. 41a, Aidoneus sees the "earthborn gods, the earlier-born Titans" in Tartarus.

[42] A. Lebedev, "The Justice of Chiron (Titanomachia, Fr. 6 and 11 B.)," *Philologus* 142 (1998) 3–10 at 3–5.

[43] As is argued by Janko on *Il.* XV.185–93.

Apollodorus concludes his report of Zeus' rise to power with an enumeration of the Titans' offspring. Amongst them he mentions the Centaur Cheiron, the son of Kronos and Philyra, and his justice.[44] Hesiod (*Th.* 1001) only mentions Cheiron and his mother, but the *Titanomachy* (fr. 9 D = 10 B) reports that Kronos mated in the shape of a horse with Philyra;[45] such hippomorphic matings are not uncommon in Greek mythology and usually belong to the older strata.[46] Apollodorus also mentions the Nereids immediately after the Titans' offspring, but their catalogue is already pre-Homeric.[47] It seems therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the *Titanomachy* included them, too. And if the following fragment of the *Titanomachy* (fr. 8 D = 4 B):

> Afloat in it are golden-eyed mute fishes,
> swimming and playing in the ambrosial water.

indeed refers to the Flood,[48] the epic may have even been concluded with the Flood and anthropogony. The latter is the more likely, since Cheiron is said to have brought 'the race of mortals to a state of justice' (fr. 6 D = 11 B), something he could hardly have done without the creation of humankind.

2. *The Titans and their origins*

Having analysed the main source for the struggle of the Titans, let us now take a look at the traditions about the individual rebels. As the names of the female Titans were clearly the product of 'poetic padding',[49] we will limit ourselves to the male Titans. In this way we may be in a better position to establish the origin and early development of their tradition. Let us start with Okeanos, who is always the

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[44] Lebedev, "Justice of Chiron".

[45] The mating is also mentioned by Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 50 = F 50 Fowler; Hyg. *Fab.* 138.

[46] In addition to Kronos, Janko on *Il.* XIV.317–8 compares the cases of Boreas, Zephyros and Poseidon; see also Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999[2]) 18.

[47] As is shown by R. Wachter, "Nereiden und Neoanalyse. Ein Blick hinter die Ilias," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* 16 (1990) 19–31. P. Scarpi, *Apollodoro: I miti greci* (Milano, 1996) 675–6 provides a useful synoptic survey of the catalogues in Homer (*Il.* XVIII.38–49), Hesiod (*Th.* 240–64), Hyginus (*Fab. Praef.* 8) and Apollodorus (1.2.6).

[48] See this volume, Chapter VI, section 1. For a different suggestion see West, "'Eumelos'," 118.

[49] I owe the expression to Bob Fowler. For the matter see West on Hes. *Th.* 135–6.

first mentioned and seems to have been the oldest.[50] He is the fresh water that encircles the world and the source of all rivers and springs (*Il.* XXI.195–7). Naturally, he is indispensable and therefore depicted as staying aloof from the struggles between the first generations (*Il.* XIV.200–4; Apollod. 1.1.4; *OF* 186). Other Titans are relatively obscure: about Kreios nothing else is known; Phorkys is the name of a Phrygian king in the *Iliad* (II.862) and the son of Pontos in Hesiod (*Th.* 237). Hyperion, whose name is a relatively young coinage,[51] is the father of the sun (*Th.* 374, 1011). Koios is the father of Leto,[52] and his name connects him to the island of Kos, where an early epic, the *Meropis*, located several giants;[53] Latin poetry remembered his enmity against Zeus.[54] However, the most important Titans are Iapetos and Kronos, the only ones mentioned by name in Homer (*Il.* VIII.479). Iapetos' name is strangely reminiscent of Japheth, the son of Noah, who is the ancestor of peoples and tribes north of Canaan (*Genesis* 10.2–5; *I Chronicles* 1.5–7).[55] He was considered to be one of the oldest gods of Greece, and his name was used as an insult to old people.[56] However, like most other Titans he is a shadowy figure and his role is mainly to be the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus (Apollod. 1.2.3), an intriguing couple that we will soon meet again (§ 3).

Finally, Kronos is clearly a case different from the other Titans, since he has cults, festivals and a specific role in Greek mythology.[57] As he is the one who becomes king, Greek poetry used the well-known folk

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[50] For his pre-Greek name see E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague, 1972) 124; W. Fauth, "Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)-Ogen(os)-Ogygos," *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 23 (1988) 361–79.

[51] C.J. Ruijgh, *Scripta minora* I (Amsterdam, 1991) 277, overlooked by Ch. de Lamberterie, *Rev. Philol.* 73 (1999) 105f.

[52] Hes. *Th.* 404; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 62; Pind. fr. 33d3; Tac. *Ann.* 12.61; Paus. 4.33.6; *Et. Magnum* 264.

[53] *P. Köln* 3.126 = *SH* 903A = *Meropis* B, cf. Janko on *Il.* XIV.250–5.

[54] Propertius 3.9.48; Verg. *G.* 1.279; Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 4; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 3.224; Servius on Verg. *G.* 1.278, 2.460, *Aen.* 8.103.

[55] Cf. M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 289–90; B. Becking, "Japheth," in *DDD*[2], 462f.

[56] Old god: schol. Lucian 79.11. Insult: Ar. *Nub.* 998; Suet. *Peri blasphêmiôn* 199; Hsch. ι 65; Eust. on *Iliad* VIII.479.

[57] For Kronos and the Kronia see now F.D. Serbeti, "Kronos," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 142–7; H.S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden, 1993) 89–135; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 154–71; G. Baudy, "Kronos," in *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999) 864–70 at 866 unconvincingly explains Kronos and the Titans as "myth[ische] Präfigurationen der Erntearbeiter," but a connection with the harvest has long been refuted, cf. F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 93.

motif of the youngest who surprisingly becomes the most important—a striking parallel is the election of David as king in the Old Testament (*1 Samuel* 16.1–13). The Homeric formula Κρόνου ἀγκυλομήτεω, 'of Kronos with the crooked counsels', only fits the metre with the Ionian contraction, which points to a young stage of entry into the epic.[58] This is confirmed by the fact that Kronion, the month named after Kronos' festival Kronia, has supplanted the inherited post-Mycenean Ionian month-name Hekatombaion only in a very limited area,[59] namely in Samos and its colony Perinthos,[60] Amorgos (*IG* XII 7, 237), Naxos (*IG* XII 5, 45), Notion/Kolophon,[61] and Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 98). Evidently, the origin of Kronos must be looked for in that region in about the eighth century BC. His non-Greek etymology suggests an import from neighbouring peoples, such as the Solymoi, Lycians and Cilicians, who, unlike the Greeks themselves, attached a certain importance to Kronos.[62] This makes it very likely that behind Kronos we have to suspect a Hittite or other, indigenous, god. And indeed, more than half a century ago, it was suggested that Kronos had to be connected with the Hittite theophorous name Kurunni.[63] Unfortunately, the name occurs only once in our evidence, which makes the suggestion less probable.[64] However this may be, from southern Ionia, Kronos' festival spread to Athens, a city with an unusual number of

[58] W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* I (Göttingen, 2001) 11.

[59] C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1997) 14 and J. Sarkady, *Studies in Greek Heortology* (Debrecen, 1998) 114–5, claim that Kronion had preceded Hekatombaion in Athens, referring to Plut. *Thes*. 12.2; *Et. Magnum* 321. However, these notices must be later inferences from the existence of the Kronia, since Hekatombaion was clearly the old Ionian month.

[60] Samos: *IG* XII 6 1, 172 A.2 and 182.108, cf. K. Hallof, *Chiron* 29 (1999) 193–6. Perinthos: Papias, *Vocabularium* (Milano, 1476), s.v. *Cromon perinthiorum lingua Iunius mensis* (the book lacks page numbers but is alphabetically ordered), cf. L.O. Bröcher, "Beiträge zur antiken monatskunde," *Philologus* 2 (1847) 246–61 at 248.

[61] T. Macridi, *Jahresh. Öst. Arch. Inst.* 8 (1905) 161–3, no. 1, re-edited by M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II (Paris, 1938) 51–60; B.D. Meritt, *Am. J. Philol.* 56 (1935), 375.80; *SEG* 42.1065; L. and K. Hallof, *Chiron* 28 (1998) 140f.

[62] Etymology: see the dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine. Solymoi and Lycians: Plut. *M*. 421d; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 50–4; E. Raimond, "Tlos, un centre de pouvoir politique et religieux de l'âge du Bronze au IV[e] s. av. J.-C.," *Anatolia Antiqua* 10 (2002) 113–29. Cilicians: K. Ehling *et al*. (eds.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien* (Bonn, 2004) 157–61 (K. Ehling: 'Titanen in Kilikien').

[63] A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Diss. Leipzig, 1940) 106 note 31, cf. A. Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus," *J. Am. Or. Soc*. 59 (1939) 1–16 at 7, 9.

[64] As Theo van den Hout kindly pointed out to me (*per* email of 23 October 2007).

slaves to whom the festival must have exerted a certain attraction.[65] During the Athenian Kronia,[66] masters dined together with their slaves sometime after the completion of the harvest.[67]

In Egypt, the cult of Kronos was established virtually right from the beginning of the foundation of Alexandria, and his festival remained popular into Late Antiquity.[68] However, this is a different case from the others, since in Egypt Kronos had been identified with Geb, the Egyptian god of the earth.[69] The difference is also clearly demonstrated by Egyptian onomastics, where we can find dozens of examples of theophoric names like Kronides, whereas such names are virtually absent from the rest of Greece.[70]

Apart from the Kronia,[71] we have only a few testimonies regarding a cult of Kronos. In Athens there was a temple of Kronos and Rhea; on Sicily Kronos had a sanctuary in Leontini and appears on coins of Himera, and in Lebadeia Kronos received a preliminary sacrifice before Zeus.[72] The only place where Kronos received more than passing attention was Olympia. Here there was a hill named after Kronos;

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[65] [Plut.], *Hom.* 1.4.3 also mentions the festival for Thebes, but note the doubts of Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V.2, 163.

[66] Dem. 24.26 with scholion; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 97 with Jacoby; B.D. Meritt and J.S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora XV. Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (Athens, 1974) no. 81.6 where [συνετέλεσα]ν τὰ Κρ[όνια] is convincingly restored in an Athenian prytany inscription of 267/6 BC; Machon *apud* Athenaeus 13.581a; Accius, *Ann.* 3, ed. E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 2003²) 58; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Anthenian Society* (Oxford, 2005) 202f. Courtney follows K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960) 254 in thinking that the Saturnalia became a slave festival only in 217 BC, but Latte, Courtney and Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 136–227 ("Saturnus and the Saturnalia") have all overlooked the early testimony of Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20.

[67] Such rituals of reversal are well known, widely attested and admirably studied by Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 89–227.

[68] Diocles *apud* Athenaeus 3.110b; Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.14–5; see also *POxy*. 1.122, 7.1025.

[69] This has escaped Burkert, Versnel, and D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1998) 57 (who thinks of the Egyptian gods Sobek or Petbe). For Geb/Kronos see C.E. Holm, *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien* (Uppsala, 1936); H. te Velde, "Geb," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1979) 427–9; A. Geissen and M. Weber, "Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Namenprägungen," *ZPE* 144 (2003) 277–300 at 280–84, 289.

[70] R. Parker, "Theophoric Names and Greek Religion," in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 2000) 53–79 at 58.

[71] According to Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 158, the festival also spread to Cyrene, but his source Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.7.25) refers to the Saturnalia, not the Kronia, since he explains: *mellis et fructuum repertorem Saturnum aestimantes*.

[72] Athens: Paus. 1.18.7; note also F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (Paris, 1962) no. 52.23. Leontini: Ibycus S 220. Himera: Serbeti, "Kronos," no's 1–2. Lebadeia: Paus. 9.39.3.

sacred officials, called *Basilai*, sacrificed to Kronos at the spring equinox, and there was an altar for Kronos and Rhea. His worship must have started at an early stage, since an inscription on the rim of an Olympian cauldron of ca. 550 BC already mentions 'Regulation of the sacrifices for Kronos for the *theokolos* (priest)'.[73]

In Rhodos, a man used to be sacrificed to Kronos, but the custom was later abolished.[74] Kronos' connection to a human sacrifice was not uncommon. It is also attested for Crete in the context of the Kouretes,[75] and in Carthage Kronos was identified with Baal Hammon, the god to whom children were sacrificed.[76] This identification took place at an early stage, since Sophocles already connects Kronos to human sacrifice by barbarians.[77] In all these cases we may assume the influence of Kronos' mythical devouring of his children; in fact, an imperial inscription still calls him 'Kronos the child-eater'.[78]

From this short survey we can conclude that originally Kronos was worshipped only in Southern Ionia and neighbouring islands, the very limited area where his festival, the Kronia, had been prominent enough to give its name to the month in which it was celebrated. Other occurrences can be satisfactorily explained as influences from this original area (Athens) or influences from Homer and Hesiod (Rhodos, Leontini, Himera,[79] Lebadeia and Olympia).[80]

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[73] Hill: Pind. *O.* 5.17, 6.64, 9.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1.34.3; Paus. 5.21.2, 6.19.1 and 20.1–2. *Basilai*: Paus. 6.20.1. Altars: Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 34. Rim: *SEG* 42.373.

[74] Porph. *Abst.* 2.54, quoted by Eus. *PE* 4.16.1 and *De Laude Constant.* 13.7.6; Theodoretus, *Graec. aff. cur.* 7.41, cf. Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal," in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice* (Leuven, 2007) 55–79 at 56–9.

[75] Istros *FGrH* 334 F 48; Eus. *PE* 4.16.7, cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 417.

[76] Clitarchus *FGrH* 137 F 9; Diod. Sic. 5.66.5, 13.86.3; 20.14.6; Curtius Rufus 4.3.23; Plut. *M.* 171c, 552a, 942c; Tert. *Apol.* 9.2; Porph. *Abst.* 2.27. For these much debated sacrifices see most recently J.-M. Poinsotte, "Le témoignage de Tertullien sur les sacrifices d'enfants à Carthage (Apol., 9, 2–6) est-il crédible?," *Lalies* 16 (1996) 29–33; K. Koch, "Molek astral," in A. Lange *et al.* (eds.), *Mythos im Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Berlin and New York, 1999) 29–50; C. Grottanelli, "Ideologie del sacrificio umano: Roma e Cartagine," *Arch. f. Religionsgesch.* 1 (1999) 41–59; B. Reynolds, "Molek: Dead or Alive?," in K. Finsterbusch *et al.* (eds.), *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden, 2007) 133–50; A. Cadotte, *La Romanisation des Dieux. L'interpretatio romana en Afrique du Nord sous le Haut-Empire* (Leiden, 2007) 25f.

[77] Sophocles fr. 126; note also *TGrF* Adesp. 233.

[78] *SEG* 31.1285 (*teknophagos*).

[79] Bob Fowler (*per* email) suggests that the case of Himera could be eventually due to a Euboean connection, since Himera was founded from Messana, which in its turn was founded from Campanian Kyme, itself a Chalcidian foundation. Alternatively, there could have been influence from the Carthaginian child sacrifices (note 76).

[80] It may be observed in passing that this result does not support the elaborate conclusions regarding the relationship between myth and ritual, which Versnel, *Transition*

Although we know some details of the Kronia ritual, it is still unclear whether or in what way this ritual was associated with the myth of Kronos and the Titans. In this respect, a recent discovery can help us to advance our knowledge. In 1983 a Hurrian-Hittite bilingual (*ca.* 1400 BC) was found in Hattuša with an *Epic of Release*, that is, the release of slaves and the remission of debts, such as we know from the Hebrew Jubilee festival (*Leviticus* 25).[81] The bilingual does not mention the ritual itself, but only supplies the accompanying myth. In this myth the highest god of heaven, Tessub, meets with the Sun goddess of the Earth, Allani, for a meal in which also the 'primeval gods', who had been banished to the underworld, participate; they sit even at the right hand of Tessub. The celebration of the temporary suspension of the cosmic order surely accompanied the temporary suspension of the social order on earth. In other words, the myth with the 'primeval gods' will have been associated with a ritual of reversal between masters and slaves. Now the Titans were also called 'the old gods',[82] old and/or dumb people were insulted as Kronoi, and Attic comedy used expressions such as 'older than Kronos' and 'older than Kronos and the Titans'.[83] Evidently, the antiquity of this divine generation had become proverbial at a relatively early stage of the tradition. The Titans thus can be legitimately compared to the Hurrian 'primeval' gods.

The mention of the city of Ebla in the Hurrian/Hittite epic shows that the origin of this 'ritual of reversal' has to be looked for in Northern Syria and from there travelled to the Hittites. Given the similarity between the rituals, it is not too adventurous to connect the North Syrian ritual with the Kronia in Ionia.[84] In fact, we have an excellent parallel for such a Greek borrowing from North Syria. As recent findings have demonstrated, the ritual of the scapegoat originated in exactly the same area, was also taken over by the Hittites and, like the Kronia, also arrived in Ionia. Here, one of its earliest attestations is in

and Reversal, 15–88, has drawn on the basis of the Kronos myth, cf. Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship," in R. von Haehling (ed.), *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt, 2005) 21–43.

[81] See now E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung* I (Wiesbaden, 1996); S. de Martino, "Il 'canto della liberazione': composizione letteraria bilingue hurrico-ittita sulla distruzione di Ebla," *Parola del Passato* 55 (2000) 269–320.

[82] West on Hes. *Th.* 486; schol. Lyc. 1191; schol. Luc. 24.23.

[83] Ar. *Av.* 469; Philonides, fr. 17 (?); *PCG* Adespota, fr. 573, 607, 610, 676, 751; Strabo 14.2.21; Suet. *Peri blasphêmiôn*, 198; Diog. Laert. 2.111; Hsch. κ 4190.

[84] As is persuasively suggested by Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 164, overlooked by De Martino, "Il 'canto della liberazione'."

Hipponax' hometown of Kolophon[85]—precisely one of the few cities that first celebrated the Kronia.

An origin of the Titans from North Syria perhaps gains additional support from its etymology. Admittedly, the close connection of the Titans with Kronos who is always called 'king',[86] the stress on kingship in the Derveni Papyrus, and the prominence of royal succession in our story, seems to support those scholars who connect the term with two pre-Greek glosses: *titênê*, 'queen' and *titax*, 'ruler, king'.[87] However, if this group of words is to be connected with the name of the Titans, that meaning had become lost to the Greeks themselves, who clearly thought otherwise. Hesiod (*Th.* 209) connects the name with Greek *titainô*, 'to stretch', although it is not clear what he means,[88] whereas later explanations connect the term with *tinô*, 'to pay a price', thus referring to the eventual fate of the Titans (above). In Late Antiquity the name of the Titans was even connected with plaster, *titanos*, since in the Orphic version (§ 3) the Titans plastered themselves before attacking Dionysos.[89]

Walter Burkert has taken a different road. He connects the name Titan with Akkadian *titu*, 'clay', which is reflected in Greek *titanos*, since figurines representing the Mesopotamian equivalents of the Titans who were used for magic or in oaths were made of clay. However, even Burkert himself considers this a 'daring hypothesis'.[90] On the other hand, he also draws attention to the fact that the mythical ancestor of the kings in Ugarit is called Ditanu. Subsequent research has pointed out that Ditanu seems to refer to a mythical group, the mythical royal ancestors. Given the eventual origin of the Titans from North Syria,

[85] See this volume, Chapter X, section 3.

[86] Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 95, 99; add, perhaps, Anon. Dor., fr. 9.

[87] Aesch. fr. 36b2II 9 (?), 272; Hsch. τ 979; A. Nehring, "Griech. τίταξ, τιτήνη und ein vorgriechisches κ-suffix," *Glotta* 14 (1925) 153–92; Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen*, 191, 290, 373.

[88] Hes. *Th.* 207–10 and West *ad loc.*; Y. Duhoux, "Le caractère des Titans—A propos d'une "étymologie" hésiodique," in M. Hofinger *et al.* (eds.), *Recherches de philologie et de linguistique* (Louvain, 1967) 35–46 (hardly persuasive).

[89] Wüst, "Titanes," 1492–3; see now also A. Bernabé, "La *Teogonia* de Epimenide," in E. Federico and A. Visconti (eds.), *Epimenide cretese* (Naples, 2001) 195–216 at 202–3.

[90] W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 94–5 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass., 2004) 33f.

an etymological connection with these Ditanu is not impossible—even though there is very little known about these royal ancestors.[91]

It is time to reach a conclusion. What can we now say about the origin and development of the Titans and the *Titanomachy* on the basis of our discussion? It is clear that Apollodorus made use of Hesiod in his version of the Greek divine *Urgeschichte*, but also used material from an earlier poem, the *Titanomachy*, which described the genesis of the Greek pantheon. This poem contained material older than that of Homer and Hesiod, like such frivolous and unenlightened details as a dancing Zeus or a hippomorphic mating, but also the lottery, Aigaion and the names of the mares of the sun. However, as West has shown, the *Titanomachy* cannot be dated earlier than the later seventh or the sixth century.[92] Consequently, the poet of this poem took some of his material from an older treatment of the Titanic struggle.

I would like to suggest that this older treatment, which also influenced Homer and Hesiod, was the myth belonging to the ritual of the Kronia in the area where this festival originated. It well fits this hypothesis that West has persuasively identified Eumelos, fr. 4 D (dub.) = 18 B, which says that Zeus was born in Lydia, as a fragment of the *Titanomachy* about Zeus' birth on Mt Sipylos: the place of birth perfectly suits the identified area (Samos, Magnesia etc.). The myth derived the Titans from North Syria and the general scheme of the Succession motif from, eventually, the Hittite-Hurrian *Kumarbi Cycle*,[93] whereas additional motifs were derived from *Atrahasis*.[94] As the *Song of Kumarbi* is the first song of the *Kumarbi Cycle*,[95] and Homer took some of his Oriental material from the beginnings of *Atrahasis* and *Enumah elish*, poems which were especially popular in school curricula, it is not improbable that this

[91] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 204 note 28, overlooked by A. Annus, "Are there Greek Rephaim? On the etymology of Greek Titans," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 31 (1999) 13–30, whose own exposition suffers from an overall lack of knowledge of ancient Greece.

[92] West, "'Eumelos'," 110–11, who at 111–18 also lists other older motifs in the poem.

[93] For this *Cycle* see most recently V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, 1994) 82–99; F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Lotte di dèi per la supremazia celeste," in S. Ribichini *et al.* (eds.), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca* (Rome, 2001) 403–11.

[94] S.R. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," *MH* 51 (1994) 129–49 at 145–9.

[95] H. Hoffner, "The Song of Silver," in E. Neu and C. Rüster (eds.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Wiesbaden, 1988) 143–66.

material eventually derived from visits to an Oriental school,[96] although a consultation of books cannot be wholly excluded.[97]

However this may be, it is clear that the poet who composed the first Greek poem about the battle of the Olympians against the Titans used an Oriental model that he adapted for his audience by filling in the collectivity of the 'old gods' with Greek names. Both the relatively young name of Hyperion (above) and the recent entry of Kronos into Ionian epic (above) suggest that this must have happened in the later eighth century, virtually at the same time as the taking over of the ritual. The date also gains support from at least one performance of this material that has left its imprints on the text. Although Eumelos, the author of the *Titanomachy*, came from Corinth, very little about the text is Corinthian. However, the connection of Aigaion with Euboea (above) points to that stage of Greek epic during which Euboea was an important centre; consequently, the myth (poem) of the Titanic struggle passed through Euboea before reaching Corinth. Evidently, the myth (poem) originated in that early stage of Greek epic before the cultural centre had shifted from the islands to Corinth and Sparta in the first decades of the seventh century.[98]

3. *The Titans and anthropogony*

In later times, several communities in Greece tried to appropriate the famous struggle of the Titans. In this game of mythological one-upmanship, Eretria claimed that its eponymous ancestor was a Titan, and the Aetolian poet Nicander probably made Aetolia into the *Ursitz* of the Titans.[99] We know a bit more about Athens. Here, when discussing the Titans at the opening of their *Atthides*, local historians mentioned that 'the whole' (of Greece?) or 'Attica' was called 'land of the Titans'.

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[96] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 95; for another example add now J.H. Huehnergard and W.H. van Soldt, "A Cuneiform Lexical Text from Ashkelon with a Canaanite Column," *Israel Expl. J.* 49 (1999) 184–92.

[97] A. Millard, "Books in the Late Bronze Age in the Levant," *Israel Or. Stud.* 18 (1998) 171–81.

[98] See the perceptive observations of Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* I, 127–37. For the importance of Euboea for early epic see M.L. West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108 (1988) 151–72 at 166–9; C.J. Ruijgh, "La date de la création de l'alphabet grec et celle de l'épopée homérique," *Bibl. Orient.* 54 (1997) 533–603 at 595–7.

[99] Eretria: Eust. on *Il.* II.537. Aetolia: Nicander *FGrH* 271–2 F 4–5 with Jacoby.

It was named after an eponymous hero "Titenios, one older than the Titans, who lived near Marathon and who alone did not fight against the gods".[100] Jacoby suggests that these Titans were not the canonical ones but "divine beings in a wider sense, of very great age, prior not only to the Olympic gods but perhaps also to the Titans of Hesiod".[101] This seems unnecessary. What we clearly have here is an Attic attempt to claim a hero even older than the Titans. More indirectly, the local historian Phanodemos also claimed a Titanic origin for the Hyperboreans. As he probably mentioned these in his discussion of Delos in which he tried to prove that the island with its important cult of Apollo had been dependent on Athens from the earliest times, his was probably another attempt at claiming the Titans for Athens.[102] In these cases, it is clearly the perceived hoary antiquity of the Titans that facilitated the appropriations.

This antiquity probably caused the Titans to be connected with anthropogony at an early stage of Greek history. Greek culture had a tradition of local *Urmänner* (not: *Urfrauen*),[103] which was so firmly entrenched that early Greek cosmogonies talk about the coming into being of cosmos and pantheon, but do not mention the creation of man.[104] However, Hesiod mentions that Iapetos was the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus, "who from the very beginning was an evil for grain-eating men, since he was the first to receive from Zeus a woman, a virgin" (*Th.* 512–4). According to West (*ad loc.*), Epimetheus' 'name is evidently invented as the opposite of Prometheus'. Is this likely?

For Hesiod, the first woman was Pandora, but she clearly is a Thessalian import in an existing story.[105] In an interesting fragment of his *Corinthiaca*, the poet Eumelos, whom some sources also credit with the authorship of the *Titanomachy*,[106] mentions that Corinth took its alternative name from 'Ephyra, the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys' (fr.

[100] Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 74; Istros *FGrH* 334 F 1. Jacoby suggests that the motif of Titenios' neutrality in the war derives from Hesiod (*Th.* 392ff), but it rather seems to have been inspired by the neutral role of Okeanos (§ 2).

[101] Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 74.

[102] Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 29, cf. Jacoby on Phanodemos F 2.

[103] M. Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen. Ein Vergleich zwischen Griechenland und dem Alten Testament* (Berne, 1992) 136–43; this volume, Chapter II, introduction.

[104] For Greek cosmogonies see most recently Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 230–47.

[105] See this volume, Chapter II, section 3.

[106] For the *Corinthiaca* see now West, "'Eumelos'," 118–26.

1b D = 1 B). She became the wife of Epimetheus, although according to a different tradition, Ephyra was the daughter of Epimetheus:[107] a similar confusion can be found in the case of Pandora.[108] The fragment demonstrates that Pandora replaces (or is modelled on) an older primeval woman, who is also married to Epimetheus. Moreover, it makes it improbable that Epimetheus was invented as the opposite of Prometheus: his role is too important to accept such a suggestion. Did Eumelos also use Prometheus in his myths? This cannot be proved with certainty but is not impossible, since Prometheus originally belongs to the Peloponnese, as is already shown by Hesiod's location of the match between Zeus and him in Sicyon[109]—another example of a local performance that has left its mark on a text. Moreover, Epimetheus, as husband of the first woman, is the ancestor of the human race, whose main benefactor is his brother Prometheus, who from the fifth century onwards was also considered a Titan and creator of mankind.[110] As, for the Greeks, the primeval stage of mankind is clearly closely connected with these two sons of the Titan Iapetos, one may wonder whether there is, somehow, not a connection with Japheth's own role as ancestor (§ 1).

The primordial couple Okeanos and Tethys also occurs in the *Iliad* (XIV.201), where they derive from the couple Apsu and Tiamat in the Babylonian *Enuma elish* (I.4: the beginning!).[111] It could well be that Eumelos here followed a tradition that is also found in an old tale retold by Plato in his *Timaeus* (40e), that Okeanos and Tethys are the children of Ouranos and Gaia, but parents of Kronos and Rhea. It is even conceivable that the order Aither—Ouranos and Gaia—Okeanos and Tethys—Kronos and Rhea was the order used by Eumelos, if it was him, in the *Titanomachy*. Like Homer, then, Eumelos seems to have used, directly or indirectly, some of the main Oriental epics.

The reason why the early Greeks connected the origin of humankind with the Titans is not crystal clear, but it seems not impossible that

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[107] Eumelos *FGrH* 451 F 1b = F 1b Fowler.

[108] This volume, Chapter II, section 3.

[109] For Prometheus see this volume, Chapter II, notes 65 and 68. For the importance of Sicyon in the Archaic Age see Visser, *Homers Katalog*, 162–3, 169–70.

[110] Titan: Pind. *P.* 4.29; Soph. *OR* 55; Eur. *Ion* 455, *Phoen*. 1122. Creator: this volume, Chapter II, note 65.

[111] Neither Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 92–3 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 30–1 nor Janko on *Il.* XIV.200–7 mentions the fragment of Eumelos.

older, mainland traditions merged with the new mythology from the Orient. In any case, the connection of the Titans with anthropogony now remained canonical, since in the sixth-century *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the poet invokes Ouranos, Gaia and the "divine Titans, who live under the earth somewhere in big Tartarus, from whom are mortals and gods" (334–6). This general statement is followed by "Titans, splendid children of Gaia and Ouranos, ancestors of our fathers" in one of the *Orphic Hymns* (37.1–2), dating to the first centuries AD, but certainly deriving from older Orphic traditions.

It is much more difficult to determine to what extent this conception played a role in the Orphic myth (myths?) of anthropogony that started to appear in veiled form in our texts from the middle of the fifth century onwards.[112] After a somewhat allusive summary by Proclus (*OF* 338) to the already mentioned derivation of mankind from the Titans, we unfortunately find this myth in its most detailed form only in the late antique, sixth-century philosopher Olympiodorus, who relates that Dionysos succeeded Zeus, but was torn apart and eaten by the Titans. When Zeus struck them with his thunderbolt, mankind originated from the soot deposited by the smoke arising from the Titans. That is why we should not commit suicide: our body partakes in Dionysos.[113]

When did this myth of the Titans' attack on Dionysos originate?[114] Pausanias (7.18.3) mentions a 'Titanic' conspiracy against Dionysos as a piece of local mythology of Patrai—surely an example of local appropriation of a pan-Hellenic myth—but ascribes the origin of this

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[112] For the most recent views on Orphism see R. Parker, "Early Orphism," in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London and New York, 1995) 483–510; J.-M. Roessli, "Orpheus, Orphismus und die Orphiker," in M. Erler and A. Graeser (eds.), *Philosophen des Altertums I. Von der Frühzeit bis zur Klassik* (Darmstadt, 2000) 10–35; C. Calame, "Orphik, Orphische Dichtung," in *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000) 58–69; A. Bernabé and A. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el Más Allá* (Madrid, 2001); Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 15–24 (text), 141–4 (notes); a new translation of the main fragments, A. Bernabé, *Hieros logos. Poesía órfica sobre los dioses, el alma y el más allá* (Madrid, 2003); Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 74–98 and *Kleine Schriften* III (Göttingen, 2006); F. Graf and S.I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2007); M. Herrero de Jáuregui, *Tradición órfica y cristianismo antiguo* (Madrid, 2007).

[113] *OF* 304, discussed in detail by L. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine* (Aldershot, 1995) VI.190–3; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*, 66–93.

[114] For a fuller discussion than given here see now A. Bernabé, "La toile de Pénélope: a-t-il existé un mythe orphique sur Dionysos et les Titans?," *RHR* 219 (2002) 401–33.

myth to Onomacritus (8.37.4). This cannot be true, as Linforth saw,[115] but the myth almost certainly goes back to the fifth century, as it seems alluded to by Pindar (fr. 133), Plato (*Men.* 81bc, *Leg.* 3.701bc, 854b), a newly discovered Orphic tablet from Pherae, and Xenocrates (fr. 20 Heinze = 219 Isnardi Parente).[116] Burkert suggests that, in some ways, the myth is connected to Mesopotamian traditions of the creation of man from a rebellious god in *Enuma elish* and *Atrahasis*.[117] In the case of the latter epic, recent publications of new fragments have now shown that the slaughtered god was indeed the rebellious god, as was the case in the former.[118] Such an Oriental derivation is not at all improbable in Orphic myth, since Zeus' swallowing of the phallus of the first cosmic king in the Derveni Papyrus (Col. XIII.4) also is clearly related to a similar act in the *Kumarbi Cycle*.[119] On the other hand, there is no explicit mention of anthropogony in earlier Orphic texts, and we may have to reckon with developments of the myth in the course of time.[120]

Given the marginal position of the motif of anthropogony in Greek culture and the growing confusion of the Titanomachy with the Gigantomachy since the fifth century,[121] it is perhaps not surprising that in due time the Giants took the place of the Titans in the creation of humankind. And indeed, according to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Terra (Gaia?) created a *propago contemptrix superum saevaeque avidissima caedis* (1.160–1) after the blood of the Giants had flooded the earth. This generation was destroyed by the Flood, but its two survivors, Deukalion and Pyrrha, were straight descendants of the Giants. At this point Ovid probably

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[115] I. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941) 350–3.

[116] E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951) 155–6; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin and New York, 1974) 74–5; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*, 38 no. 27 (Pherae).

[117] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 126–7 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 96.

[118] A.R. George and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, "Tablets from the Sippar Library. VI.Atra-hasis," *Iraq* 48 (1996) 147–90; B. Böck and I. Márquez Rowe, "MM818: A New LB Fragment of the Atra-hasis I," *Aula Orientalis* 17–18 (1999–2000) 167–77.

[119] Thus, convincingly, Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 90–2 and *Kleine Schriften* III, 101–6; for the Hittite original see most recently the discussion by J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) 167.

[120] Cf. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme*, Ch. VII.496f.

[121] Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V.2, 168–9; W. Speyer, "Gigant," in *RAC* 10 (1978) 1247–75 at 1250. On the Giants see most recently L. Giuliani, "Die Giganten als Gegenbilder der attischen Bürger im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr." and C. Maderna-Lauter, "Unordnung als Bedrohung. Der Kampf der Giganten gegen die Götter in der Bildkunst der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit," in T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (Munich and Leipzig, 2000) 263–86 and 435–66, respectively.

draws upon a Hellenistic tradition since, in an oration offering different views about life, Dio mentions that a certain Charidemus considered that "all human beings are of the blood of the Titans" (30.10). Dio himself instead accepts the view of a 'peasant' that "the human race is from the gods, not from Titans or from Giants" (30.26). A scholiast on Oppian's *Halieutica* (5.1) confirms that Ovid was not alone in his ideas, since "some people say that we are from the blood of the Titans who fought with the heavenly gods", but he also mentions the Orphic view that we are from the 'bloody gore' of the Titans. In this area there clearly was a lot of room for variation, since the Orphic *Argonautica* (19–20) ascribed the birth of humans not to the blood but to the seeds of the Giants. This very limited number of testimonies demonstrates that the Orphic version of the Titans' influence on anthropogony did not greatly influence Greek culture. The old tradition of autochthony remained firmly entrenched, and it would last till the arrival of Christianity before a different view of man's coming into the world would gradually start to prevail.

4. *The Jews and the Titans*

When in the last centuries BC the Jews started to confront Greek culture and to fuse Biblical and Greek mythology, they also appropriated the myth of the Titans. Knowledge of the myth is already attested as early as Pseudo-Eupolemus (*ca.* 200 BC), who identified Babylonian Bel with Greek Kronos,[122] but incidental references to the Titans occur in various Greek translations of originally Hebrew texts. In the *Septuagint*, the 'Valley of the Rephaim' (*2 Samuel* 23.13) alternates with the 'Valley of the Titans' (*2 Samuel* 5.18, 22), and the same alternation occurs in the textual tradition of Flavius Josephus' rewriting of the passage (*AJ* 7.71). The Greek version of *Judith* (*ca.* first century AD) lets the heroine sing in the hymn of praise after her victory: "nor did the sons of the Titans strike him (Holophernes) down, nor did tall giants set upon him" (16.6); the Antiochene version of the Old Testament (dating to the first centuries of our era) mentions Titans in *2 Samuel*, but

[122] Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Alexander Polyhistor *FGrH* 724 F 1. For the date see most recently E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1998) 146–8.

gives 'Valley of the Giants' in *1 Chronicles* (11.15 Hex),[123] and, finally, the Greek version of *1 Enoch* 9.9 has: "the daughters of men brought forth from them sons, giants", but the Gizeh fragment translates 'giants' with 'Titans', whereas Syncellus (*ca.* AD 800), who is perhaps closer to the Greek original, has 'Giants'[124]—all are interesting illustrations of the already mentioned confusion between the Titanomachy with the Gigantomachy (§ 3).[125]

A much more detailed example of Jewish knowledge of the myth of the Titans can be found in the *Third Sibylline Oracle* (105–58). Here the Sibyl relates that after the collapse of the Tower of Babel, during the tenth generation of mankind after the Flood, three brothers (Kronos, Titan and Iapetos) together ruled the earth, each over a third part. After the death of their father Ouranos they started to fight with the result that Kronos became sole king. However, he had to promise Titan that he would not father any sons. As he broke his promise, the Titans (plural) swallowed his sons except for Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, whom their mother Rhea had sent to safe places. When this became known, a war arose between the sons of the Titans with the sons of Kronos, in which both parties perished. After the war God established the Egyptian kingdom, then the Persian Kingdom and, finally, the Roman Empire.

John Collins has persuasively argued that the oracle derives from Egyptian Judaism around 163–145 BC, although other recent discussions are more reticent and less sure about the exact moment of composition.[126] Yet this part can certainly still date from the middle of the second century, in any case well before Virgil and Horace made

[123] For these versions see N. Fernandez Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I: 1–2 Samuel* (Madrid, 1989) and *III: 1–2 Crónicas*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos (Madrid, 1996).

[124] For the texts of Syncellus and the Gizeh fragment, which was found in Akhmim, see M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden, 1970) 23–24 and *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Leiden, 1985) 132.

[125] The wavering between Giants and Titans can also be found in two manuscripts of Josephus, *AJ* 7.4.1.

[126] J.J. Collins, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987) 421–59 at 447, followed by H. Merkel, *Sibyllinen = Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* V.8 (Gütersloh, 1998) 1962; Collins, *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture* (Leiden, 2005) 82–98. Differently: Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 269–90 = (more or less) "Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the Third Sibylline Oracle," in Goodman, *Jews in a Greco-Roman World*, 15–36; J.-D. Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Darmstadt, 1998) 440–51; R. Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting* (Leiden, 2003) 124–34.

use of the *Oracles*, although the final redaction must postdate the Battle of Actium.[127]

The passage itself is a fairly rationalised version, in which the Titans symbolise the old order that had to be destroyed before God could establish the present world. This is a good adaptation of the Greek tradition where Zeus founds the present order after the *hybris* of the Titans. The intriguing resemblance of Iapetos and Japheth (§ 2) may have helped to draw the attention of the Jews to this passage. Given its euhemeristic colour, it is not surprising to find that the version is a straight derivation from the famous *Sacred History* of Euhemerus (*ca*. 300 BC).[128] His work was very influential on the third-century Dionysius Scytobrachion's *Libyan Stories*, which also used the struggle between Zeus and the Titans.[129] These authors show that this theme had become attractive again in the third century BC: the wars between the successors of Alexander the Great must have lent Zeus' struggle an unsuspected actuality. Its attraction to Jews is proved not only by the *Third Sibylline Oracle*, but also by the fact that in their rewriting of the division of the earth in *Genesis* 10 the authors of *Jubilees* (*ca.* 150 BC: *cc.*8–9) and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (2nd century BC:[130] *1QapGen ar* XVI–XVII) display exactly the same scheme as the *Third Sibylline Oracle*. Their common third-century (?) source will have been equally inspired by Euhemerus and contemporary events.[131]

Titans also occur in the first book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (307–23) where they are the seventh generation after the creation. As in the *Third Oracle*, they are described as mortals, but also as future rebels. Their eventual fate, unfortunately, has to remain unclear, since instead of a version of the battle against the Titans a Christian redactor interpolated a Christian prophecy at this point. Once again, it is impossible to put an exact date to this version, but in this case, too, a date somewhere in the second century BC is not impossible.

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[127] For Sibylline influence on these Roman poets see C.W. Macleod, *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983) 218–9; R.G. Nisbet, *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, ed. S.J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995) 48–52, 64–5, 73–4, 163–4.

[128] Compare Euhemerus *FGrH* 63 F 14 (= fr. 54 Winiarczyk).

[129] J. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Opladen, 1982) 109.

[130] For the date see now D. Machiela, *The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text. Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees* (Ph.D. Diss Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007), to be published by Brill, Leiden, in 2008.

[131] See the detailed comparison in J. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden, 2001) 332–7, who notices the common source but does not mention the influence of Euhemerus.

As the myth of the Titans was evidently known in Jewish circles, we can now turn to the few references to the theme of the Fallen Angels that seem to presuppose a more detailed knowledge of the myth.[132] In *Jubilees*, the announcement of the Flood and the rescue of Noah is followed by the judgements against the angels, the giants, again the angels and, finally, by the new nature (5.4–12). As regards the angels, the Lord

> commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion. And he told us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold, they are bound in the midst of them and they are isolated (5.6, tr. O.S. Wintermute).

We find exactly the same structure in Chapter 10 of *1 Enoch* (early 3rd century BC).[133] The cause of the close relationship at this point between *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* is debated, but the most persuasive solution to the problem is the assumption of a communal borrowing from another, now lost text, perhaps the lost *Book of Noah.*[134] In the Qumran version of *1 Enoch* 10.11–12, God says to Michael about the angels who had 'fornicated' with the 'daughters of men': "[chain them up for] seventy ge[nerations in the valleys of] the earth until the great day [of their judgment]" (*4Q202* IV.10–11).[135] The ultimate fate of the angels is also alluded to in the New Testament, where it is said of the fallen angels in *Jude* (6) that "he has kept (them) in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgement of the great day", and, almost certainly depending

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[132] M.L. West, "Towards Monotheism," in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999) 21–40 at 27 persuasively suggests that these myths "convey the notion of a great shakeout, in which plurality and diversity of divine agents, with the potential for conflict between them, are reduced to a totalitarian unity".

[133] A detailed comparison of the structure: Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 196f. Date: G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: a commentary on the book of 1 Enoch, chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis, 2001) 169f.

[134] Thus F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992) 1–44, doubted by E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and The Days of the End* (Leiden, 1996) 156f. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 197 also assumes a communal origin, but C. Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," in E. Chazon and M. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 1999) 171–81 claims dependence of *Jubilees* on *1 Enoch*. See now also M. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13 (2006) 4–23.

[135] I quote from the authoritative translation by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2000[2]) I.407, since the Qumran version is our oldest testimony to the text. For the more complete Ethiopic version see the English translation and commentary in Black, *The Book of Enoch*. For a discussion of the Ethiopic version and modern translations of *1 Enoch* see Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old*, 144–51.

on *Jude*, in *2 Peter* (2.4): "For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell (*tartarôsas*) and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgement…" This verse is particularly important, since virtually all passages in which the verb (*kata*)*tartaroô* occurs refer to the struggle of Zeus against Kronos and the Titans.[136] The fact that the last two passages refer to *1 Enoch*[137]—*Jude* explicitly names Enoch and quotes from *1 Enoch*—shows that these New Testament authors derive from *1 Enoch* and, unlike *Jubilees*, do not go back to the postulated common source.

In the twentieth century, the binding of the fallen angels has regularly reminded scholars of the myth of the Titans.[138] And indeed, the Jewish translators of the *Septuagint*, erudite as they were,[139] could hardly have failed to note the vague parallels between the Titans and the *gigantes* they introduced into *Genesis* 6.4. The interpretation even gains in probability, if we remember that several scholars have also noted parallels between Prometheus' instruction of primitive men in all kinds of arts in the *Prometheus Vinctus* (454–505) and the instruction of men in technical skills and magic by the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 6–7.[140] Now the combination of the myths of Prometheus and the struggle of the Titans against Zeus in the same passage may not be accidental. The figure of an inventive Prometheus in the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Vinctus* was probably modelled on Ea in *Atrahasis* through the mediation of the already mentioned *Titanomachy* (§ 1).[141] Knowledge by the authors of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, or their source, of the Greek myth

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[136] B. Pearson, "A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at II Peter 2.4," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 71–80.

[137] See the standard commentaries *ad loc*.

[138] So already R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1917) 24; T.F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London, 1961) 62–8; M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Tübingen, 1969) 347–8; M. Delcor, *Etudes bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979) 275, 290–1; B. Pearson, "Resurrection and the Judgment of the Titans," in S.E. Porter *et al*. (eds.), *Resurrection* (Sheffield, 1999) 33–81 (not that helpful).

[139] A. van der Kooij, "The City of Alexandria and the Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible," *J. Northwest Semitic Lang*. 25 (1999) 137–49.

[140] Cf. Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 65; Pearson, "A Reminiscence," 72–5; Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 347–8; G.W. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *J. Bibl. Stud.* 96 (1977) 383–405 at 399–404; R. Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seine Umwelt* (Zurich, 1979) 161–6. For the passage see F. Graf, "Mythical Production: Aspects of Myth and Technology in Antiquity," in R. Buxton (ed.), *From Myth to Reason?* (Oxford, 1998) 317–28 at 318–22.

[141] S. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," 145–9. Dependence of the *Prometheus Vinctus* on the *Titanomachy* had also been noted by Eduard Fraenkel, cf. R. Roncalli (ed.), *Pindaro, Sofocle, Terenzio, Catullo, Petronio: corsi seminariali di Eduard Fraenkel* (Rome, 1994) 7.

of the Titans via the *Titanomachy*, directly or indirectly, can therefore hardly be doubted.

It is time to come to a close. The myth of the Titans has appeared to be an extremely interesting example of the cultural contacts in the Mediterranean. From the Hurrians and the Hittites it migrated to the Greeks who, in turn, proved to be a source of inspiration to the Jews. As always, in this respect too God has moved in mysterious ways.

Appendix: A Newly Discovered Testimony of the Struggle between Zeus and Kronos

In an eighteenth-century Ethiopian manuscript with a collection of exegetical and patristic texts, a second hand has recorded a notice about the struggle between Zeus and Kronos on some empty pages.[142] As its publication will have escaped most classicists, it may be useful to append the French translation:

> Quant au seigneur des dieux chez les païens c'était Zeus. Chex eux, Zeus était aussi le fils de Kronos. Kronos était leur dieu et il craignait qu'un de ses enfants le prive de son royaume. Et lui, alors, il régnait et mangeait chaque fils qui lui naissait. Quant à Zeus, à cause de la beauté de son aspect sa mère eut pitié de lui, et afin que sa voix fût cacheé, l'abandonna parmi les chanteurs et les joueurs de tambours. Sa mère donna au père Kronos des pierres enveloppées dans de la nourriture, et quand il l'engloutit, les enfants d'elle plus âgés étaient déjà morts. Quand il fut grand, Zeus mutila son père et reçut son espoir et sa partie, du ciel jusqu'au Tartare, c'est-à-dire la Géhenne. Une goutelette du sperme de Kronos tomba dans la mer et en naquit Aphrodite, qui est Zehora (the Ethiopian name of the planet Venus), c'est-à-dire enchantement, péché et fornication. Zeus aussi monta au ciel et prit le royaume, et alors tous les dieux tombèrent. Il descendit trois fois: une foi il changea d'aspect et sous ces apparences se pervertit avec des femmes; puis il retourna, monta et on l'appela seigneur des dieux (there follow a few lines about Hermes).

The Ethiopic forms of Zeus, Kronos, Tartarus and Aphrodite show that this piece was translated straight from the Greek and not from the

[142] O. Raineri, "Zeus in Etiopia. Dal ms. Comb. Et. S 12 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," in D.V. Proverbio (ed.), *Scritti in memoria di Emilio Teza = Miscellanea Marciana* 12 (1997) 187–93. I quote the French translation from G. Lusini, "L'Église axoumite et ses traditions historiographiques (IV^{e}–VII^{e} siècle)," in B. Pouderon and Y.-M. Duval (eds.), *L'historiographie de L'Église des premiers siècles* (Paris, 2001) 541–57 at 547.

Arabic.[143] It will eventually derive from one of the late-antique handbooks of Greek mythology. This origin also explains why it presents only well known details.[144]

[143] Lusini, "L'Église axoumite," 548.

[144] For comments, information and improvements of my English I would like to thank Rolf Bremmer, Walter Burkert, Ken Dowden, Bob Fowler, Peter van Minnen, Mladen Popovic, Eibert Tigchelaar and Martin West.

CHAPTER SIX

NEAR EASTERN AND NATIVE TRADITIONS IN APOLLODORUS' ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD

On the evening of 3 December 1872 'a large and distinguished' company assembled in the Rooms of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. The keynote speaker for the evening, which was chaired by the famous orientalist Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810–1895), was George Smith, "of the British Museum", who "was received with cheers".[1] Helped by "Chaldean traditions as narrated by the Greek Berosus",[2] Smith had succeeded in identifying Tablet XI of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* among the cuneiform fragments from Assurbanipal's palace library at Nineveh and that evening he lectured on "the Chaldean account of the deluge".[3] The importance of the evening must have been widely known, since the "resolution of thanks" was proposed by Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809–1898), despite the fact that this December was one of the busiest of his political career with no less than ten Cabinet meetings. Gladstone's speech, which was repeatedly interrupted by applause, drew attention to the importance of the songs of Homer but did not discuss Greek parallels to the Flood.[4] Understandably, "the meeting was concluded at a late hour". The next morning, *The Times* and *The Daily*

[1] For George Smith (1840–1876) see E.A.W. Budge, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (London, 1925) 106–19; R.C. Thompson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (London, 1929) 48–54.

[2] Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 4–5, cf. S. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (Malibu, 1978); A. Kuhrt, "Berossus' *Babyloniaka* and Seleucid Rule in Babylonia," in *eadem* and S. Sherwin-White (eds..), *Hellenism in the East* (London, 1987) 32–56; G.P. Verbrugghe and J.M. Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho introduced and translated. Native traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 1996).

[3] See his homonymous article in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1873) 213–34 and his *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1875), which in the next year already reached a fourth edition—a sign of the great interest his discovery had aroused.

[4] For Gladstone's busy schedule that month see R. Jenkins, *Gladstone* (London, 1995) 362; for his interest in Homer, H. Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts* (London, 1982) 110–25.

Telegraph carried extensive reports of Smith's paper, the latter even the complete text of his preliminary translation.[5]

Smith's discovery stimulated research into the Greek traditions of the Flood, and in 1899 Hermann Usener (1834–1905), the most erudite classicist of his time, produced his *Sintfluthsagen*, in which he analysed the Near Eastern, Indian and Greek versions of the Flood.[6] Although the book is still valuable for its many interesting observations, Usener was too strongly influenced by the Romantic Movement to contemplate historical dependencies: according to him, every country had invented its own version. This belief is no longer tenable. More recent inquiries, as this book also tries to show, have demonstrated the influence of the Ancient Near East on Greek life, religion and literature. The Greek myths of the Flood are just one example of this influence, and it is hardly fortuitous that a pupil of Walter Burkert, Gian Caduff, has written the authoritative account of the Greek traditions of the Flood, in which the role of the Ancient Near East is properly acknowledged.[7]

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[5] See *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* of 4 December 1872. I derive the quotations from these reports.

[6] H. Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen* (Bonn, 1899; repr. Hildesheim, 1972). As often, Usener must have written this study very quickly. In a letter to Hermann Diels of 29 January 1898 he writes: "Inzwischen habe ich einen vortrag über die sintflutsage in unserer Rhein. alterthumsgesellschaft gehalten, und bin dadurch angeregt die ergebnisse zu einer kleinen schrift vorlaüfig zusammenzufassen," and in a letter of 15 May 1899 Wilamowitz already thanks Usener for the gift of the book; cf. D. Ehlers (ed.), *Hermann Diels, Hermann Usener, Eduard Zeller: Briefwechsel*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1992) I, 539 and *Usener und Wilamowitz. Ein Briefwechsel 1870–1905. Mit einem Nachwort und Indices von William M. Calder III* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994[2]) 59–60, respectively; see also Bremmer, "Hermann Usener," in W.W. Briggs and W.M. Calder III (eds..), *Classical Scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia* (New York, 1990) 462–78 at 472. For the Indian and Near Eastern versions of the Flood see now E. Noort, "Stories of the Great Flood," in F. García Martínez and G.P. Luttikhuizen (eds.), *Interpretations of the Flood* (Leiden, 1998) 1–38 at 10–14; add R. del Carmen Fernández Ruiz, "El Diluvio: estudio comparativo de las versiones bíblicas y mesopotámicas," *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 21 (1985) 93–136.

[7] G. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* (Göttingen, 1986); add W. Heimke, *Die antiken Flutsagen* (unpublished Diss. Breslau, 1941: *non vidi*); L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (Paris, 1955) 221–2; J. Duchemin, *Mythes grecques et sources orientales* (Paris, 1995) 291–323 ("La Création et le Déluge chez Ovide: recherche sur les sources grecques et orientales du mythe"); W. Fauth, "Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)-Ogen(os)-Ogygos," *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 23 (1988) 361–79; P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques. Recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1992) 127–37 (Phrygian traditions); A. Griffin, "Ovid's Universal Flood," *Hermathena* 152 (1992) 39–58; M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 377–80, 489–93; R. Jiménez Zamudio, "El tema del diluvio en Ovidio y sus precedentes en las literaturas orientales," *Cuad. filol. clásica*, est. lat. 22 (2002) 399–428.

Although Caduff has analysed the Greek traditions of the Flood in a thematic manner, there is still room for an analysis of individual accounts. I will limit myself here to a discussion of a version about Deukalion, the oldest Greek hero of the Flood. Admittedly, this version is the fruit of a late compilation and systematisation, but it had recourse to older traditions, perhaps even to one of the very first accounts of the Flood in Archaic Greece.

1. *Apollodorus' account and its sources*

Towards the end of the second century AD, Apollodorus gives the following account of the Flood in the first book of his work:[8]

> Prometheus had a son Deukalion. He was king of the region of Phthia and married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, whom the gods had fashioned as the first woman. When Zeus wanted to destroy the Bronze Race, Deukalion on Prometheus' advice constructed a chest, stored it with provisions and boarded it with Pyrrha. After having shed heavy rain from heaven, Zeus flooded most parts of Greece, so that everybody perished apart from a few who had fled to the nearby high mountains. It was at that time that the mountains in Thessaly parted and everything outside the Isthmus and the Peloponnese was overwhelmed. After being carried in the chest across the sea for nine days and as many nights Deukalion landed on Parnassus. When the rains had stopped, he disembarked and sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios. Zeus sent Hermes to him and let him choose whatever he wished. He said he wanted men. So at Zeus' direction he picked up stones and threw them over his head. The ones that Deukalion had thrown became men, while those of Pyrrha became women. That is why *laoi*, 'people', metaphorically received their name from *laas*, 'stone'.[9]

As has long been seen, in the initial chapters of his work Apollodorus follows, mainly but not exclusively, Hesiod's *Theogony*. He also derived certain details from an Orphic theogony and from an Archaic poem that was later put at the head of the Epic Cycle, the *Titanomachy*.[10]

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[8] N. Cohn, *Noah's Flood. The Genesis Story in Western Thought* (New Haven and London, 1996) 8, still writes: "In the second century BCE the Greek writer Apollodorus. . . .". For Apollodorus see this volume, Chapter V, section 1.

[9] Apollod. 1.7.2. I quote from the latest edition: *Apollodoro, I miti Greci*, ed. P. Scarpi and tr. M.G. Ciani (Milano, 1996).

[10] A. Söder, *Quellenuntersuchung zum 1. Buch der Apollodorschen Bibliothek* (Diss. Würzburg, 1939); M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983) 121–6 and *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985) 32–5, 44–6.

Unfortunately, we are unable to date the poems of the Epic Cycle with any certainty. It is generally assumed that they were later than Homer, who is presently dated by the best connoisseurs of the 'Near Eastern connection', Walter Burkert and Martin West, to the first half of the seventh century.[11]

In his learned commentary on *Iliad* 13–16, Richard Janko has noted an important parallel between the beginning of Apollodorus (1.2.1) and a fragment of an Orphic theogony in that in both cases the division of the world by lottery follows a defeat of the Titans. He concluded from this parallel that the division of the world among the three gods Zeus, Poseidon and Hades in *Iliad* XV (187–93),[12] of which Burkert had noted the resemblance with the division of the world in the beginning of the Akkadian *Atrahasis*, must have been derived from an early *Titanomachy*, which will therefore date from the eighth century.[13] Knowledge of *Atrahasis* by the author of the *Titanomachy* has also been argued by Stephanie West, who has shown that the figure of Prometheus in the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Vinctus* was very probably modelled on Ea in *Atrahasis* through the mediation of the *Titanomachy*.[14]

Moreover, Janko pointed out that the famous scene of the deception of Zeus by Hera (*Il.* XIV.153–353) must also have been derived from the *Titanomachy*. But this scene is indebted to *Enuma elish* as well. When Hera states that she will look for refuge with Okeanos and Tethys, she mentions a duo that is clearly derived from the beginning of *Enuma elish*: "primordial Apsu, their begetter, and creator Tiamat, she who bore them all" (I 4);[15] Tiamat appears again in the beginning of *Genesis* (1.2) as *tehom*.[16] Apollodorus, then, used a *Titanomachy*, whose author seems to have been acquainted with at least two famous Near Eastern epics, *Atrahasis* and *Enuma elish*. However, as this *Titanomachy* cannot be dated earlier than the later seventh or the sixth century, its poet must have

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[11] See most recently M.L. West, "The Date of the *Iliad*," *MH* 52 (1995) 203–19.

[12] For this division see also this volume, Chapter IV, section 5.

[13] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 88–96, who also notes other resemblances between Homer and *Atrahasis*; Janko on *Il.* XV.185–93.

[14] S.R. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," *MH* 51 (1994) 129–49 at 145–9. For the dependence of the *PV* on the *Titanomachy* see also this volume, Chapter V, note 141.

[15] I quote from the translation in S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 2000^2) 233.

[16] Janko, *The Iliad IV*, 169 (*Titanomachy*), 181–2 (Okeanos and Tethys); Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 91–96; add that old women were proverbially called Tethys, cf. Cratinus fr. 483 and *PCG*, Adespota fr. 932. For the Mesopotamian duo see most recently B. Becking, "Ends of the Earth," in *DDD*^{2}, 301f.

derived some of his material from an older treatment of the Titanic struggle.[17]

The Homeric poems were only gradually fixed in writing, and the transmission of their text must have been fluid for several centuries.[18] It will have been no different regarding the *Titanomachy*. The version used by Apollodorus may well have differed in various ways from that of its very first author, and this may explain the possibly Orphic colouring of its beginning.[19] However, its highly fragmentary remains—the modern standard editions only contain ten or eleven fragments—do not permit us to say anything about the possible development of the poem, even though they allow us some idea of its contents. The epic probably began with a cosmogony and continued at least until the labours of Heracles. Did it also contain or refer to the story of the Flood?

Admittedly, the Flood is absent from Hesiod's *Theogony* and almost certainly also from pseudo-Hesiod's *Catalogue*, where the heroic race comes to an end through the Trojan War,[20] but given the acquaintance of the *Titanomachy* with *Atrahasis*, such a proposition seems not improbable. This is the more likely, since Homer was already clearly influenced by *Gilgamesh*.[21] In fact, even Homer may have alluded to the Flood. After the fall of Troy, Apollo and Poseidon diverted the rivers of the Troad against the wall for nine days (see below), while Zeus let it rain incessantly during this period (*Il.* XII.17–33). West has suggested, attractively, that this episode combines Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon in 689 BC via a diversion of the Euphrates and the story of the Flood. Even the final state of the site in the *Iliad*, "he (Poseidon) made all smooth" (XII.30), may reflect, according to West, *Gilgamesh* XI 136 "the flood-plain was level like a roof" (tr. George).[22] Further,

[17] See this volume, Chapter V, note 92.

[18] For this much debated problem see most recently Janko, *The Iliad*, 29–38; Z. Ritoók, "The Pisistratus Tradition and the Canonization of Homer," *Acta Ant. Hung.* 34 (1993) 39–53; R. Rutherford, *Homer* (Oxford, 1996) 18–20; R. Fowler, "The Homeric question," in idem (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (Cambridge, 2004) 220–32 at 224f.

[19] Cf. the Aither in *Titanomachy* fr.1 D/B.

[20] West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, 55, which probably appeared too late for Caduff, *Antike Flutsagen*, 114, who still presupposes the dependence of Apollodorus on the *Catalogue*; L. Koenen, "Greece, the Near East, and Egypt: Cyclic Destruction in Hesiod and the *Catalogue of Women*," *TAPA* 124 (1994) 1–34.

[21] A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: introduction, critical edition, and cuneiform texts*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2003) I.56–7 argues for 'interrelated cultures' instead of direct influences, but this idea works less well in specific cases, such as the Flood or the overpopulated earth.

[22] West, "The Date," 212 (*Gilgamesh*), 211–18 (Flood) and *East Face*, 377–80.

one of the fragments of the *Titanomachy*, which occurs in the second book, is as follows:

> Afloat in it are golden-eyed mute fishes,
> swimming and playing in the ambrosial water.[23]

At first sight these lines may derive from a description of an object like that of the shield of Heracles in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*, but from Homer to Apollonius of Rhodes the verb always is in the past tense in such ecphraseis.[24] Is it unthinkable that these verses derive from an account of the Flood?[25]

2. *Apollodorus' and the Flood*

Having looked at some old sources of Apollodorus, we now turn to a more detailed analysis of his account. Apollodorus starts with the father of the hero of the Flood, who in Greek mythology is always Prometheus.[26] His mention here is somewhat odd, since Apollodorus (1.7.1) had only just related that Prometheus had created man from water and clay, but such inconsistencies are not abnormal in his work and were perhaps inevitable in such a compilation. The tradition of Prometheus as creator of mankind is not very old. In Hesiod's *Theogony* he is still only a human benefactor, but the idea starts to appear at the end of the fifth century;[27] in Pausanias' time the inhabitants of Phocaean Panopeus could even show stones left from the clay from which Prometheus had fashioned mankind.[28] Apollodorus does not mention Deukalion's mother, but her name was not canonical and has been handed down in several variants.[29] In fact, in Greek mythology the names of women are often variable, whereas those of the males

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[23] Athenaeus 7.277d, tr. C.B. Gulick, Loeb = *Titanomachia* fr. 4 B = 8 D = Soph. T 136 Radt.

[24] W. Kranz, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Fortwirken* (Heidelberg, 1967) 89–96 ("Titanomachie," 1960[1]) at 94, followed by Davies, *The Epic Cycle*, 17.

[25] For the likelihood of the *Titanomachy* having introduced the Flood see S. West, "Prometheus Orientalized".

[26] Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 118. For Prometheus see this volume, Chapter II, note 68.

[27] See this volume, Chapter II, note 65.

[28] Paus. 10.4.4; P. Ellinger, *La légende nationale phocidienne* (Paris, 1993) 102. For such 'relics' see T.S. Scheer, "Ein Museum griechischer "Frühgeschichte" im Apollontempel von Sikyon," *Klio* 78 (1996) 353–73; Cameron, *Greek Mythography*, 233–7.

[29] Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 119.

are fixed: even the name of Oedipus' mother was handed down in four different versions.[30]

According to Apollodorus, Deukalion, whose name is already attested in Mycenaean Greek (PY An 654.12: *de-u-ka-ri-jo*),[31] was a king. This kingship plays no further role in his account and may well have been derived from the Near East: Berossos also describes the hero of the Babylonian Flood as a king.[32] Deukalion ruled Phthia in southern Thessaly, a rather large area in antiquity; this geographical origin must be old, since Herodotus (1.56.3) knows Deukalion as king of Phthiotis.[33] Yet Phthia was not the only region connected with Deukalion at an early date. The name of Deukalion's wife, Pyrrha, is very similar to Pyrrhaia, a name of Thessaly or one of its districts,[34] which points to an ancient connection of Deukalion with Thessaly. And indeed, Deukalion already appears as king of Thessaly in Hellanicus of Lesbos, Herodotus' contemporary, but the tradition must be older: according to pseudo-Hesiod and Hecataeus of Miletus, the most important of the early Ionian prose-writers, the Thessalian kings considered him as their ancestor.[35] Deukalion's *Urheimat*, however, was in Eastern Locris, a region near the northeastern slope of the Parnassus, the mountain in Greece universally associated with the Flood, where the kings also claimed him as their ancestor.[36] It thus seems that the myth has migrated from Locris to Phthiotis, its opposite region on the Malian Gulf, from where it will have been quickly incorporated into Thessalian mythology. The vicinity of Locris to Euboea, an important channel in the communication between East and West in the eighth and early seventh centuries, and the early date of the myth of the Titans suggest that the story of the Flood reached Greece from Northern Syria or Phoenicia, since the *Catalogue* already refers to the Phoenician god Bel,[37] though

[30] Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1991[2]) 45.

[31] F. Bader, "De Pollux à Deukalion: la racine **deu-k-* 'briller, voir'," in A. Etter (ed.), *O-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin and New York, 1986) 463–88.

[32] Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 3–4.

[33] Dicaearchus fr. 7 also mentions an old inhabitant of Phthiotis, Pherecrates, who claimed to descend from Deukalion.

[34] Rhianos, fr. 25.1; Theophr. *c. pl.* 2.6.4; Strabo 9.5.23; Hsch. π 4456; schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1090.

[35] Hes. fr. 6; Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 14; Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 6.

[36] Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 76–92. Kings: Pind. *O.* 9.41–6.

[37] Euboea: M.L. West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108 (1988) 151–72; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 12–4. North Syria and

a contact via Cyprus also remains possible.[38] The connections between Lydia and Assyria seem to have been established too late to be of influence in this respect.[39]

Deukalion's wife was Pyrrha, whose name also occurred in Mycenean Greek (KN Ap 639.11: *pu-wa*). She was the daughter of Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, and Pandora, the very first woman. Marriages with a brother's daughter are not yet mentioned in Homer but become normal in later periods, if Athenian practice was in any way representative of the rest of Greece.[40] The genealogy of Pyrrha, then, looks like a later development, as indeed is also suggested by pseudo-Hesiod's mention of Pandora as Deukalion's mother.[41] Another old tradition made Pandora the mother of Graikos, the ancestor of the Graikoi, a tribe that lived in Epirus and eventually gave the Greeks their name via the Romans: in both cases, a northern tradition let the ancestor of a people descend from the first woman or her daughter.[42]

If Deukalion's *Urheimat* was indeed Locris and if Pyrrha was connected with Thessaly, the conclusion seems inevitable that originally Deukalion must have been married to a local woman with a different name, who in time was replaced by Pyrrha. This may seem strange to us, but changing wives' names was always one of the possibilities available to Greek poets who created variants of a traditional story, as we have seen above. In due time, though, Pyrrha was also incorporated into Locris: her grave was reputed to be in the Locrian port of Kynos.[43]

Having established the genealogy of Deukalion, Apollodorus proceeds with the Flood itself, but he does not explain why it had to take place; he simply states that Zeus wanted to destroy the Bronze Race. At this point he probably follows Hesiod: because the Heroes, the later children of Deukalion and Pyrrha, constitute the Fourth Race, he had

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Phoenicia: F. Graf, *Greek Mythology* (Baltimore and London, 1993) 95–6; this volume, Chapter XV, section 6. Bel: Hes. fr. 137.2.

[38] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 103–4; this volume, Chapter XV, section 6.

[39] W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* I (Göttingen, 2001) 218–32 and *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 248–51.

[40] See Bremmer, "Fosterage, kinship and the circulation of children in ancient Greece," *Dialogos* 6 (1999) 1–20 at 7.

[41] Hes. fr. 2, where the name is often doubted, as in the most recent edition of the fragments by Merkelbach and West (Oxford, 1990[3]), but probably unnecessarily, cf. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 119.

[42] Pandora: Hes. fr. 5; see also this volume, Chapter II, section 3. Romans: P. Dräger, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenkatalogen Hesiods* (Stuttgart, 1997) 27–42.

[43] Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 183.

virtually no choice but to let Zeus destroy the Third, Bronze Race.[44] In the Near Eastern epics it is also the supreme god who decides to destroy the human race, as is the case in *Genesis* (6.5) where Jahweh decides to eliminate mankind because of its wickedness. The Old Testament scholar Claus Westermann (1909–2000), who wrote an important commentary on *Genesis*, thought that the decision of Zeus, like that of Jahweh, gave access to a period before "das Auseinandertreten des vernichtenden und des bewahrenden Gottes" and even to a pre-mythical stage of the Mesopotamian tradition, but such a stage is non-existent in our tradition.[45] The Old Testament versions combine destruction and salvation because the authors offer monotheistic interpretations of a polytheistic original.[46]

Atrahasis relates that the gods were continuously annoyed by human noise because of the overpopulation of the earth and therefore decided to enact the Flood. The motif recurs in the beginning of the *Cypria*, where Zeus is said to have noticed too many people on earth and therefore to have decided to start the Trojan War.[47] It seems that the Greek author of the *Cypria* knew *Atrahasis* and had adapted the Near Eastern motif to a Greek context. In *Gilgamesh*, on the other hand, no reason is given for the Flood. Was it this tradition that was eventually followed in Greece?

On the advice of Prometheus, Deukalion proceeded to build a boat. We are not told how Prometheus learned of Zeus' plan, but similar advice occurs both in *Atrahasis* and *Gilgamesh* where the hero of the Flood is advised by the god Ea (Enki), who closely resembles Prometheus as trickster and human benefactor;[48] the monotheistic version of *Genesis* (7.1–4) does not know other gods besides Jahweh, who therefore cannot but be the advisor. If we cannot be sure to which epic Greek tradition is indebted in this case, the continuation of Apollodorus' account demonstrates that *Gilgamesh* also played an important role in the formation of the Greek tradition of the Flood. In *Atrahasis* the hero of the Flood has to build a *makarru*, a large cargo vessel shaped like

[44] For the Flood and the myth of the Five Races see now C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "The Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races," in O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Offerings. Essays on Greek Art in honour of John Boardman* (Oxford, 1997) 1–21 at 13–5.

[45] C. Westermann, *Genesis* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974) 540.

[46] See Noort, "Stories".

[47] *Cypria* fr. 1 B/D, cf. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 101–4.

[48] On Ea (Enki) see H.D. Galter, "Aya," in *DDD*[2], 125–7.

the gibbous moon, but in *Gilgamesh* it is a chest-like boat,[49] as the measures clearly show: "ten rods each her sides stood high, ten rods each, the edges of her top were equal" (XI.58–9, tr. George); *Genesis* follows *Gilgamesh* closely and the word used for the ark, *tebah*, is elsewhere in the Old Testament used only for Moses' 'ark of bulrushes' (*Exodus* 2). Although on a much smaller scale, Greek tradition follows the idea of a chest-like boat. However, the word for this chest, *larnax*, is the same as that used for chests in which figures of Greek mythology were put out to sea, such as Danae and Perseus or the Lemnian king Thoas.[50] These myths are most likely older than that of the Greek version of the Flood. Apparently, Greek tradition had adapted the Near Eastern ark to one of its own stock motifs.[51]

Apollodorus here follows an old tradition, since the *larnax* already occurs in Hellanicus and in *Prometheus or Pyrrha*, the title of a comedy by Epicharmus, a Sicilian active in the first quarter of the fifth century. Although only relatively few fragments of this comedy are extant, Prometheus clearly gives advice and also the word *larnax* occurs repeatedly. It seems that Prometheus is thwarted by Pyrrha, and that will surely have been one of the comic aspects of this particular Flood.[52] The idea of a comic version of the Flood was very successful in the fourth century, when the Flood recurs in at least three Attic comedies, of which the remains are unfortunately too fragmentary to be of any use in reconstructing the Greek traditions of the Flood.[53] This popularity fits Jacoby's suggestion that it was probably only in the fourth century that Athens started to claim Deukalion and was able to show his grave.[54]

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[49] For the boat see George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, I.512f.

[50] Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 259–62; J.-J. Maffre, "Danae," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 323–37; F. Lissarrague, "Women, Boxes, Containers: Some Signs and Metaphors," in E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora* (Baltimore, 1995) 91–101; West, *East Face*, 491f.

[51] M.A. Wes points out to me that Josephus, *AJ* 1.77ff also uses *larnax* instead of the Septuagint's *kibôtos*.

[52] Hellanicus: *FGrH* 4 F 117; Epicharmus fr. 113; Andron *FGrH* 10 F 8**.** This role of 'Mrs Noah' may eventually, via Gnostic mediation, have influenced mediaeval mystery plays; cf. S. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," 133; add F.L. Utley, "Noah, his wife and the Devil," in R. Patai *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (Bloomington, 1960) 59–91.

[53] Antiphanes fr. 78–9; Eubulus fr. 23; Ophelio T 1.

[54] Strabo 9.4.2; Paus. 1.18.8. At first, in his commentary on Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 118, Jacoby suggested that the fifth-century Hellanicus already knew the grave, but later, in his commentary on Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 95, he believed that the fourth-century Atthidographer Phanodemos was "perfectly capable of claiming Deukalion for Athens".

Such a relatively late Athenian interest in the Flood is supported by its complete absence from the many thousands of sixth-century and fifth-century Attic vases with mythological themes.[55]

Unlike Near Eastern traditions, Greek accounts do not mention the construction of the chest: a carpenter was not really a suitable ancestor of kings. Neither does Deukalion take children or animals with him in the chest. In the Greek mythological tradition before the incorporation of the Flood, Deukalion and Pyrrha were the ancestors of mankind and so children had no place in the chest, let alone animals—a nice illustration of the lack of interest in animals in Archaic and Classical Greece.[56]

In *Atrahasis* the stormgod Adad sends the rain, just as in *Gilgamesh*, but in Apollodorus it is naturally Zeus, the Greek god of rain *par excellence*.[57] The rain caused a Flood, which covered nearly the whole of Greece, except some mountains that provided refuge for a few people. The existence of several local Flood traditions probably explains this detail, which is really in contradiction with the role of Deukalion and Pyrrha as human ancestors.[58] It is rather curious that Apollodorus subsequently mentions the parting of the Thessalian mountains and the saving of the Isthmus and the Peloponnese. The latter detail is left unexplained and probably derives from a local historian, perhaps from Acusilaus of Argos. The Thessalian mountains recur in Nonnus (*c.* AD 450–70), the last great account of the Flood in antiquity (6.371–9), and thus point to an old, unknown source, used both by Apollodorus and Nonnus, in which Thessaly was perhaps the centre of the Flood.[59] Deukalion drifted for nine days and nine nights, and it fits our observations about Apollodorus' epic sources that the formula looks like an epicism: the formula 'for nine days one did this but on the tenth day etc.' often

[55] Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 347 connects the Athenian festival of the Chytroi with the Flood but does not mention Deukalion; see also R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 295f.

[56] Cf. U. Dierauer, *Tier und Mensch im Denken der Antike* (Amsterdam, 1976); but see also K.F. Kitchell, Jr, "The View from Deucalion's Ark: New Windows on Antiquity," *Class. J.* 88 (1992–93) 341–57.

[57] Adad: J.C. Greenfield, "Hadad," in *DDD*², 377–82. Zeus: H. Schwabl, "Zeus II," in *RE* Suppl. XV (1975) 994–1411 at 1046–48.

[58] Berossos *FGrH* 680 F 4; *Marmor Parium FGrH* 239 A 4; Varro *apud* Aug. *Civ.* 18.10; Or. *C. Celsum* 4.79; scholion Verg. Bern. *Georg.* 1.62; Pompeius Trogus 2.6.7–11. Mountains and refuge: R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 87.

[59] For Nonnus' description see also H. Herter, "*Ovidianum quintum*: das Diluvium bei Ovid und Nonnus," *Illinois Class. Stud.* 6 (1981) 318–55.

occurs in early epic.[60] As Deukalion had no animals on board, there were no retarding elements like the sending of the birds in *Genesis*, so the landing took place immediately after the cessation of the rain.

In the Near Eastern traditions the hero of the Flood lands on the highest mountain in a region, just as the Indian hero lands on the Himalayas. *Atrahasis* does not give a name, but in *Gilgamesh* it is Nimush in present Kurdistan;[61] in *Genesis* the ark lands on Mt Ararat (= Urartu), in Armenia, an area curiously far away from Israel. According to Pindar, our oldest available source, Deukalion landed on the Locrian side of the Parnassus. Caduff sees the notion of a cosmic mountain in the background of the Greek tradition, but this is not supported by our evidence: the Greeks had simply chosen the highest mountain in their region. The oracle of Delphi, which at an early stage tried to claim the myth of the Flood (and nearly succeeded), was situated at the other side of Parnassus. Many later sources, therefore, let Deukalion land on the Delphian side of Parnassus. The Locrian claim, though, was too firm to be disestablished.[62]

The sequence in Apollodorus—landing on a mountain, cessation of rain, disembarkment and sacrifice—is slightly different from those in *Gilgamesh* and *Genesis*, since in the Near Eastern traditions the rain had stopped before the ark remained stuck on the mountain, but the sacrifice clearly derives from the Near Eastern tradition. Unfortunately, *Atrahasis* has lost that part of the text that describes the preparation of the sacrifice, but the remaining text relates how the gods smelled its fragrance and "gathered like flies over the offering", a scene closely followed in *Gilgamesh*; in *Genesis*, too, Jahweh "smelled a sweet savour" (8.21). We can notice here the idea of sacrifice as, literally, food for the gods—an idea already avoided, where possible, by Homer.[63]

What is the meaning of the sacrifice in Apollodorus' account? More than a quarter of a century ago, the Swiss historian of religion Jean Rudhardt published a detailed study of the institution of sacrifice in

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[60] Epicism: Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 100, who wrongly thinks of the *Catalogue*. Formula: N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974) 166.

[61] For the name, which was previously read as Nisir, see now West, *East Face*, 492.

[62] Pind. *O.* 9.41–56 and scholion on 64c (highest mountain); Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 77–8 (Delphi), 222–3 (cosmic mountain); note also the objections of C. Auffarth, *Der drohende Untergang. "Schöpfung" in Mythos und Ritual im Alten Orient und im Israel* (Berlin and New York 1991) 73.

[63] Bremmer, "Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice," in D. Ogden (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2007) 132–44 at 139.

connection with the roles of Prometheus and Deukalion. According to him, in Apollodorus Zeus gratefully accepted the sacrifice by sending Hermes to Deukalion in order to ask him what he wanted. Moreover, parallel versions of Deukalion's myth suggest that Deukalion had officially instituted sacrifice after the Flood.[64] It is indeed true that the sacrifice is mentioned in several parallel versions. Whereas in Apollodorus Deukalion sacrifices to Zeus Phyxios, 'Zeus of the escape', the Argive hero of the Flood offered to Zeus Aphesios (Arrian *FGrH* 156 F 16); Hellanicus of Lesbos mentions an altar for the Twelve Gods (*FGrH* 4 F 6), and Athenian tradition credited Zeus Olympios (*Marmor Parium* 239 A 4). However, in Near Eastern traditions the sacrifice after the Flood had no institutional character, since *Atrahasis* mentions a sacrificial strike before the Flood.[65] Was it different in Greece?

Rudhardt, followed by Caduff, attaches great importance to the close tie between Prometheus and Deukalion, but this tie is nowhere thematized in the various versions of the Flood. Rudhardt also pays too little attention to the nature of the recipient of the sacrifice. Zeus Phyxios was worshipped in Thessaly, which is one more indication of the Thessalian influence on the traditions of the Flood. The same Zeus also occurs in the myths of the Argonauts, as after his escape Phrixos sacrificed the ram with the golden fleece to Zeus Phyxios.[66] The god had an altar in Argos, in Athens and probably in Sparta or Northern Greece; in the province of Arabia in the first century AD a Roman could still dedicate a temple to him.[67] 'Of the escape' is a fitting epithet for Zeus in this particular case, since he was frequently worshipped with the epithet *Sôter* as 'Saviour' from all kinds of crises.[68] Gratitude was one of the reasons given by Theophrastus for the practice of sacrifice, although this motive does receive little attention in recent discussions of the ritual.[69]

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[64] J. Rudhardt, *Du mythe, de la religion grecque et de la compréhension d'autrui = Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 19 (1981) 209–26, followed by Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 217–24 and W. Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred* (Cambridge Mass., 1996) 33.

[65] The theme was taken over in Greece: C. Auffarth, "Der Opferstreik: Ein altorientalisches "Motiv" bei Aristophanes und im homerischen Hymnos," *Grazer Beiträge* 20 (1994) 59–68; Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred*, 144.

[66] See this volume, Chapter XV, section 1.

[67] Apollod. 1.9.1 (sacrifice); schol. on Apol. Rhod. 2.1147; Photius ε 604 (Athens); *SEG* 35.1570 = *I. Gerasa* 5 (Arabia).

[68] F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 181–4, 383.

[69] Bremmer, "Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice," 140.

The god's epithet, Phyxios, resembles that of an epithet of Zeus in Argos, Aphesios, which must mean something like 'Releaser'.[70] In any case, Zeus Phyxios is connected with an escape, which is not the case with the other gods mentioned in this respect: Zeus Olympios and the Twelve Gods. Zeus Olympios is the god of Olympos, the mountain of the gods, and the most powerful god of the pantheon. In this capacity he comes close to the Twelve Gods, the collectivity of the most powerful gods.[71] These gods, then, are no longer connected to a specific area in Greece, but already pan-Hellenic.

It seems, then, that we must differentiate. The oldest versions of the Flood story probably connected the sacrifice with a specific local ritual, but later versions became influenced by the tendency to invent culture-bringers, a tendency that would gather speed with the sophists.[72] This process reached its zenith in Hellenistic times, when Deukalion explicitly became one of the very first sacrificers. A more recently published papyrus of the first or second century AD contains a list of those 'who first constructed the altars of the gods'. The first altar is that of Zeus Olympios (!) by Pelasgos, the third by Pelias in Dodona,[73] but the second is by 'Thessalian Deukalion' in, of all places, Macedonian Dium.[74]

The sacrifice connects the Near Eastern tradition of the Flood with the indigenous Greek tradition of anthropogony, since Zeus sent Hermes to ask Deukalion what he would like to have. Deukalion answered 'Humans' and his wish was fulfilled. Both he and Pyrrha had to throw stones (Greek: *laas*) behind them, a sign perhaps of the strangeness of the event,[75] which become people (Greek *laos*): those

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[70] For various speculations see Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 230–3. Following Usener, Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 114, connects Aphesios with Zeus Apesantios (Call. fr. 223 says Apesas), to whom Perseus sacrificed first after being saved (Paus. 2.15.3), but see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Berlin, 1962) 24–5 (on Stat. *Theb*. 3.461).

[71] Zeus Olympios: Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 31, 201f. Twelve Gods: C.R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Leiden, 1987); K. Brodersen, *Terra Cognita* (Hildesheim and New York, 1995) 254.

[72] K. Thraede, "Erfinder 2," in *RAC* 5 (1962) 1191–1278; Bremmer, "Culture-bringers," in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (Oxford, 1996) 412.

[73] According to Plut. *Pyrrhos* 1.1 the sanctuary had been built by Deukalion!

[74] *POxy*. 62.4306[1] i 19–32; the first sacrificers are also mentioned in the same papyrus fr. 2 ii 66. The papyrus has now been re-edited by M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden, 1997) 328–34.

[75] So Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 103.

of Deukalion men, those of Pyrrha women.[76] Homer (*Od.* 19.162–3) already mentions an anthropogony from the oak and the rock, and also the *Catalogue* alludes to a birth from stones, since Strabo (7.7.2) quotes a fragment of Hesiod (fr. 234) in which Zeus is said to have given the Leleges *lektous ek gaiês laous* to Deukalion. Apparently, the first mortals were not yet considered to be fully civilised, since the Leleges were a kind of aboriginal people before the arrival of proper civilisation, just like the Pelasgians.[77] The popular etymological play between *laos*, 'people', and *laas*, 'stone', will have helped to keep this Greek version of the anthropogony alive, which, as anthropological parallels suggest, may have been older than the Indo-European invasion of Greece.[78] Some regions even made political use of this seeming depreciation of the first people. The Delphian leading sacrificial family, the Hosioi, claimed descent from Deukalion, which presumably implied that the other families could not. The opposition becomes explicit among the Opuntians, who were descendants of the people made of stones, but whose kings were the real children of Deukalion and Pyrrha.[79]

3. *Conclusions*

It is time to draw some conclusions. It is clear that Apollodorus has drawn upon old sources, probably even the *Titanomachy*, which seems to have been the oldest source for the Greek derivation of the Flood from the Ancient Near East. We have also seen that the author of this epic was well acquainted with the great Near Eastern epics *Atrahasis*, *Gilgamesh* and, perhaps, *Enuma elish*. In any case, (parts of) these epics were clearly well known to the older generations of poets in the Archaic Age. The notion of the Flood was probably picked up first in Locris,

[76] For this birth see Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 225–6, and M. Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen. Ein Vergleich zwischen Griechenland und dem Alten Orient* (Bern, 1992) 228–34.

[77] K. Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (London, 1992) 81–2; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 192.

[78] *Laos/laas*: Hes. fr. 234; Pind. *O.* 9.42ff; Epicharmus fr. 120; Call. fr. 496 and 533 (cf. J. Irigoin, *REG* 73, 1960, 439–47); *Epimerismi Homerici* λ 38. Anthropology: L. Röhrich, "Anthropogonie," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 1 (1977) 579–86.

[79] Delphi: Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen*, 78. Opuntians: Pind. *O.* 9.41–56. The motif of the special creation of the king perhaps also derives from the Near East; cf. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, "Konzeption und Legitimation von Herrschaft in neuassyrischer Zeit," *Die Welt des Orients* 26 (1995) 5–20.

but the Thessalian phase of the transmission of the myth became an important influence on the formation of the traditions surrounding Deukalion. The Flood helped not only to explain the end of the heroic race, the origin of man or the shape of the landscape, but it could even legitimate social differences. This multi-functionality, in addition to the dramatic power of the story, must have been an important factor in its popularity all over Greece.

Finally, Greek poets had not only borrowed the general idea of the Flood from their Near Eastern colleagues, but they also took over certain details, such as the shape of Deukalion's boat. The idea of the Flood was borrowed in a time when the Greek horizon rapidly expanded and traditions about people made from stones may have started to look primitive or old-fashioned.[80] However, the Greeks did not incorporate the animals or the family who are standard inhabitants of the ark in the Near East. They were open to foreign influence but they were never slavish followers.[81]

[80] Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999^2) 58.

[81] I am most grateful for information and comments to Ton Hilhorst, Stefan Radt, Karel van der Toorn, Martin West and, especially, Bob Fowler.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DON'T LOOK BACK: FROM THE WIFE OF LOT TO ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

One of the most striking scenes of the Sodom and Gomorrah episode in the Old Testament is the metamorphosis of the wife of Lot into a pillar of salt. Yet the scene occupies only one verse in the whole of *Genesis*' account: "But Lot's wife, behind him, looked back, and she became a pillar of salt" (*Genesis* 19.26). It is rather surprising to observe that the scene has attracted very little attention from biblical scholars. Of the two recent monographs on the episode, one manages not to say anything, whereas the other observes only: it "may have been an etiological element which explained some bizarre figure in the rock formation near the Dead Sea", and "the injunction not to look back…" is a widespread motif found often in folklore of widely differing cultures". Lot's wife meets her end because of "her own, individual transgression of the express command given in verse (*Genesis* 19.17)", and it concludes that "if human beings are punished by Yahweh, it is because of their own fault, not because of that of a community".[1] This interpretation is hardly persuasive, since the whole of Sodom and Gomorrah is destroyed, whereas there must have been people in those cities, for example women and children, who had not participated in the attempt to violate the angels visiting Lot's house (*Genesis* 19.1–11).

The episode does not fare much better in the two most recent authoritative commentaries on *Genesis*. Horst Seebass passes over the episode and Claus Westermann comments only: "ein Mensch darf dem Vernichtigungsgericht Gottes nicht zusehen" and "dieses Gebot begegnet häufig und ist weit verbreitet, z.B. Orpheus und Eurydike".[2] Yet in the case of Orpheus there is no destruction by God, and the examples are therefore hardly comparable in this manner. The fullest

[1] W.W. Fields, *Sodom and Gomorrah: history and motif in biblical narrative* (Sheffield, 1997); J.A. Loader, *A Tale of Two Cities* (Kampen, 1990) 41 (quotes), who refers to the studies by Dillmann, Gunkel, Von Rad and Harland.

[2] C. Westermann, *Genesis* II (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981) 371 (quotes), 375; H. Seebass, *Genesis* II/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997) 148.

attempt at explanation is perhaps that by the polymath Theodor Gaster (1906–1992), who noted:

> Within the dramatic context of the story this means, of course, that they must set their faces hopefully toward the future, not nostalgically toward the past. This, however, is simply a clever "literary" twist to an element of the older folktale which really had its origin in magic and in religious convention, for it is a common rule in ancient rituals that one must not turn one's gaze backward.[3]

Although there is some truth in these words, we must point out that Gaster's older folktale is not attested at all and neither can we state that in ancient rituals it was 'a common rule' that people should not look back.

These few comments seem to confirm the words of Anna Akhmatova's famous poem *Lot's Wife* (§ 7): "Who will grieve for this woman? Does she not seem too insignificant for our concern?" Yet in itself it is not that strange that scholars and commentators on the Old Testament are a bit at a loss as to what to make of the episode of Lot's wife. It is not referred to elsewhere in the Old Testament and is mentioned only once in the New Testament (§ 7). Moreover, there is no other parallel in the Bible for the prohibition on looking back and neither does the theme seem to occur in the literature of the Ancient Near East,[4] although it may be attested once in Hittite ritual: after an exorcism of demons, the witch "goes away [and while *walking off*] she does not turn around".[5]

On the other hand, the prohibition is quite widespread in Greco-Roman antiquity with its most famous example being, of course, the already mentioned case of Orpheus and Eurydice. It might therefore be useful to try to achieve greater clarity in this area and to take a closer look at the classical examples, even though in that field the theme has also received little attention until now.[6] Most studies think it sufficient to

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[3] Th. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (New York, 1969) I.159–60, 366 at 159.

[4] With thanks to Marc Linssen and Martin Stol.

[5] Gaster, *Myth*, I.159, who manages to misquote both the reference and translation of *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* XXVII.67.iv.3 (tr. A. Goetze) in *ANET* 348. However, J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) only sees "[…] regres[a…]".

[6] The only detailed discussion: M. Teufel, *Brauch und Ritus bei Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Tübingen, 1939) 171–85, to whose collection of passages I am much indebted, but see also Frazer on Ovid, *F.* 6.164; Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1.49; Gow on Theocr. 24.96; West on Hes. *Th.* 182 and Bömer on Ovid, *F.* 5.439.

refer to Rohde's classic study,[7] but Rohde did little more than listing a few examples.[8] We will therefore divide the Greco-Roman material into five sections: contact with the underworld and chthonic powers (§ 1), magic (§ 2), purifications (§ 3), going abroad (§ 4) and creations (§ 5), even though the boundaries between these categories are sometimes a bit fuzzy. Subsequently, we will try to arrive at a preliminary conclusion (§ 6), and we will conclude with looking at the moving story of Orpheus and Eurydice before returning to Lot's wife (§ 7).

1. *Underworld and chthonic powers*

When Circe gives Odysseus instructions for his visit to the underworld, she also tells him to slaughter black lambs male and female and to turn their heads towards Hades. He himself "must face away looking towards the streams of the river" (*Od.* 10.528), i.e. the river Okeanos, the direction from which he arrived. The passage immediately raises the question whether this ritual prohibition is identical with that on not looking back when moving away, but we will look at that problem in the preliminary conclusion (§ 6). There are several examples of this Greek fear at looking Hades straight in the face,[9] but there is only one comparable Roman example, viz. Apuleius (*Met.* 2.11). This strongly suggests that Apuleius derived the theme from the Greeks. As many details from Homer's necromantic ritual derive from the Ancient Near East,[10] it is no surprise that we encounter the prohibition on looking back in Assyrian ghost rituals too.[11] An Oriental influence is certainly possible, perhaps even likely.

There are also some examples from contacts with chthonic powers. When Athenians passed by the grove of the Eumenides in Colonus, they had to remain silent and, having finished their visit to the sanctuary, they had to return without looking back.[12] In a strange ritual in Temesa (Southern Italy), which probably goes back to ancient rites of

[7] See, for example, M. Bettini, *Kinship, Time, Images of the Soul* (Baltimore and London 1991) 283 note 10.

[8] E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2 vols (Freiburg, 1898[2]) II.85 note 2.

[9] See Headlam-Knox on Herondas 3.17.

[10] M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 426f.

[11] J.A. Scurlock, *Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Diss. U. of Chicago, 1988) 45–6, 65.

[12] Soph. *OC* 126ff., 156ff., 489f., cf. N. Loraux, "Alors apparaîtront les Erinyes," *L'Écrit du temps* 17 (1988) 93–107 at 98.

deflowering, the inhabitants had to bring a nubile girl to a ghostly comrade of Odysseus and to return without looking back.[13] In Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Medea tells Jason to bring a libation to spooky Hekate and impresses upon him: "let no footfall or barking of dogs cause you to turn around, lest you ruin everything and do not yourself return to your companions in the condition you should" (3.1038–41, tr. R. Hunter). According to Ovid's *Fasti* (4.437–40), during the Roman Lemuria, the festival for the ancestors in their more ghostly manifestations, worshippers threw away black beans with face averted. While they pronounced a ritual formula, the shade of the ancestor was thought to gather the beans and 'to follow unseen behind'. It is evidently felt as *unheimlich* that the shade follows behind. And indeed, as we will see, it is behind one's back where not so propitious powers may lurk (§ 6).

2. *Magic*

A second early case is the prohibition on looking back in the case of magic. This, too, is very early attested. In the *Odyssey* we read that Leukothea gives Odysseus a veil to save him from the perils of the sea, but she orders him to throw it back into the sea when he has safely reached the main land and "you yourself turn away" (5.350). Apparently, there is something in this 'magical' veil that Odysseus should keep away from. A similar attitude we find in Sophocles' *Root-Cutters*, where Medea "turns her head backwards" (fr. 534) to pick the roots of magical herbs. Our source Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19.9–10) clearly no longer understood the gesture and interpreted it as a way to avoid being killed by the awful smell of the herbs. It seems a reasonable guess that Medea picked the roots for rejuvenating Pelias,[14] and it is therefore not surprising that in Ovid's description of this magical act Medea orders everybody to avert their eyes (*Met.* 7.256). The prohibition also recurs in

[13] *Dieg.* on Call. fr. 98. For this ritual see most recently A. Mele, "L'eroe di Temesa tra Ausoni e Greci," in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche* (Palermo, 1984) 848–88; M. Visintin, *La vergine e l'eroe* (Bari, 1992); Bremmer, "Rituele ontmaagding in Simon Vestdijks *De held van Temesa*," in G. Jensma and Y. Kuiper (eds.), *De god van nederland is de beste. Elf opstellen over religie in de moderne Nederlandse literatuur* (Kampen, 1997) 80–98; B. Currie, "Euthymus of Locri: a case study in heroization in the Classical Period," *JHS* 122 (2002) 24–44.

[14] See Radt *ad loc.*; for Medea and Pelias, H. Meyer, *Medeia und die Peliaden* (Rome, 1980); M. Schmidt, "Sorceresses," in E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora* (Baltimore, 1995) 57–62.

the description in Ovid's *Fasti* (6.164) of the magical ceremony during which the nymph Crane restored the cheeks of a child that had been deformed by *striges*, 'witches'.

In fact, the prohibition on looking back during medical and magical ceremonies (two categories often hard to separate in antiquity)[15] was particularly frequent in Roman and Late Antique times. Pliny provides several examples,[16] and walking backwards after the ceremony regularly occurs in the Greek magical papyri.[17]

3. *Purifications*

In the decade before 450 BC a *lex sacra* was put up in the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios in Sicilian Selinous. This recently discovered text stipulates that if a man wants to be purified from *elasteroi* (a kind of avenging spirit) he must perform a ritual that ends with "and having sacrificed a piglet to Zeus, let him go out from it, and let him turn around" (B 5). The editors persuasively suggest that "perhaps, as in a number of magical and suchlike practices, he is to turn around and not turn back".[18] The formulation of the editors indicates that they find it hard to pin down exactly what kind of ritual is taking place in their text, but their primary comparison with magic is not quite felicitous, since the text itself seems to speak of a purification (B 1–2: ἀποκα[θαίρεσθαι]). And indeed, in the virtually contemporaneous *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, which was performed first in 458 BC, Electra wonders how to perform her mother's libations for her father Agamemnon: "am I to go away again without looking round, when I have thrown the vessel, like one who casts away the residue of a purificatory sacrifice" (98–9, tr. A.F. Garvie, slightly adapted). The Greek verb used for 'to cast away', (*ekpempô*), although

> normally applied to humans, is sometimes used of the disposal of the polluted remains, as though there were something slightly animate about

[15] See, for example, F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge MA, 1997) *passim*.

[16] Pliny, *NH*. 21.176, 24.104, 29.91; similarly, the late antique Marcellus Empiricus 1.54, 8.52, 25.11.

[17] *PGM* I.38; IV.45, 2493; VII.439.

[18] M. Jameson, D. Jordan, R. Kotansky, *A* lex sacra *from Selinous* (Durham NC, 1993) 43.

> them. The purifier would emphasize separation from them by "throwing them over his shoulder", and "walking away without looking back".[19]

These comments by the best modern scholar of ancient pollution clearly focus attention on a highly important aspect of the ritual and one to which we will have to return. In the *Agamemnon*, a tragedy from the same trilogy, it is said of Justice that "the gold-bespangled mansions where there is filth upon the hands she forsakes with eyes averted and goes to what is clean" (776–8, tr. E. Fraenkel). The Greek word for clean, *hosia*, regularly stands in opposition to that what is polluted.[20] Thus once again we notice that the Greeks averted their eyes from polluted objects, and a scholion on the *Choephoroi* (98) indeed tells us that the Athenians, having purified a house with a clay censer, threw out the pot on a triple crossroads and went home without looking back.[21] The notice is confirmed by Eustathius (on *Od.* 22.481), who mentions that some Greeks threw out the residues of purificatory sacrifices on the streets, averted their eyes and returned home without looking back.

In a discussion of offerings to the dead, the fourth-century Athenian exegete Cleidemus prescribes that one should

> dig a trench on the western side of the grave. Then standing beside the trench face the west, and pour over it water, reciting these words: "Water for cleansing to you for whom it is meet and lawful." After that pour scented oil (*FGrH* 323 F 14).

As in the case of Electra (above), we see here a close connection between a libation to the dead, a purification and standing with one's back to the grave.

An influential passage was the burning with 'wild firewood' of the serpents that tried to strangle the infant Heracles in his cot. Theocritus (24.95–6) lets Teiresias order Heracles' mother Alcmene:

> And at dawn let one of your handmaids gather up the ashes of the fire and cast them away, bearing them over the river to the rugged rocks beyond our boundaries; and then return without a backward glance (tr. A.S.F. Gow, adapted).

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[19] R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 230.

[20] Parker, *Miasma*, 330.

[21] For crossroads as a negative place and used for the removal of impure substances see Eupolis fr. 132; Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983) 91; Parker, *Miasma*, 229; S.I. Johnston, "Crossroads," *ZPE* 88 (1991) 217–24.

It was indeed customary to burn monstrous births and other abominations with wild or worthless wood.[22] On the other hand, the further acts seem to be somewhat overdone, since it was normal to remove abominations either over the borders or to leave them behind in the mountains,[23] but not both at the same time. Yet the act itself is clearly part of a purification process, since Teiresias continues with ordering her to purify the house.

There is nothing comparable in Roman ritual, but Theocritus' passage was used as an intertext by Virgil (*Ecl.* 8.101) and Nemesianus (*Ecl.* 4.63ff.).

4. *Farewell*

One of the Pythagorean prescriptions was: "When going abroad, don't look back at the border(s)".[24] The idea had perhaps spread beyond Pythagorean circles, as according to Artemidorus' *Dreambook*:

> To see one's head turned backwards so that one can see the things behind, is a hindrance to leaving one's fatherland, since it predicts a change of mind regarding leaving home (1.36).

Interestingly, late antique versions of the Pythagorean prescription added as explanation: "if not, the Erinyes, allies of Justice, will come after you".[25] Teufel provided the following explanation: "die Unterweltsgeister sind hinter einem her, von denen sich der primitive Mensch in allen kritischen Momenten des Lebens, so auch bei der Abreise, umgeben und bedroht fühlt".[26] The interpretation was typical of the preferred kind of approach of scholars at the end of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century when ghosts were seen everywhere. Yet Teufel's explanation is already contradicted by the fact that Hippolytus calls the Erinyes 'allies of Justice'. The expression is clearly derived from Heraclitus' statement that the sun should not

[22] Parker, *Miasma*, 221.

[23] Over the borders: Bremmer, *Early Greek Concept*, 91; Parker, *Miasma*, 45. Mountains: Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (New York and London, 1988[2]) 44.

[24] Demetrius of Byzantium *apud* Athenaeus 10.452d; Plut. *M.* 12f.; Diog. Laert. 8.1.17; Porph. *VP* 42; Suda π 3124.

[25] Hippol. *Ref.* 6.26; Iambl. *Protr.* 21.

[26] Teufel, *Brauch*, 171.

transgress its measure: else the Erinyes, 'allies of Justice', will discover it (B 94), and points to the Erinyes as guarantors of the natural order.[27]

Pythagoras' prescription, if it is really his, belonged to those of his prescriptions that codified folk wisdom.[28] Psychologically, it is excellent advice: once a decision is taken, stick to it and do not look back.[29] We may compare the modern Greek custom that a bride should not look back when leaving her ancestral home,[30] and Jesus' remark to somebody who first wanted to say farewell to his relatives before following him: "No man who puts a hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (*Luke* 9.62). In both cases we can see the same connection between looking back and wavering, even if there is no mention of travelling abroad.

In later antiquity the custom of not looking back could thus become a sign for the absence of worry: Pythagoras walked around "leisurely and unconcernedly (literally: without turning backwards)", and, according to Artemidorus, to dream of Dionysos and his followers meant freedom for slaves because of the lack of worry (*to anepistrepton*) of the divine company.[31] From there, the development into 'heedlessness' was only a small step.[32]

5. *Creations*

The creations of a goddess, heroes and humankind are clearly connected but not that easy to understand. Having cut off Ouranos' member, Kronos threw it away backwards: it produced Aphrodite; Deucalion and Pyrrha threw behind them stones which turned into men and women, and the Idaean Dactyls were created when the nurses of Zeus took dust and threw it behind them.[33] The idea behind these reports

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[27] Note also the combination of Eriny(e)s and Justice in Soph. *Ajax* 1390; Eur. *Med.* 1389–90; schol. Lyc. 1140 and *PGM* IV.2857; E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, 2 vols. (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901) II.241.

[28] For the prescriptions and their antiquity see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge Mass., 1972) 166–92.

[29] Compare the Dutch expression: "Doe wel en zie niet om".

[30] J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (London 1964) 136.

[31] Pythagoras: Iamb. *VP* 15: σχολαίως τε καὶ ἀνεπιστρεπτί βάινων, tr. J. Dillon and J. Hershbell. Dionysus: Artemidorus 2.37, note also 3.42 (lack of worry among drunks).

[32] Cf. Arr. *Epict.* 2.5.9; Vett. Val. 43.27; Diog. Laert. 6.91.

[33] Aphrodite: Hes. *Th.* 182. Deucalion/Pyrrha: Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 35 = F 35 Fowler; Ov. *Met.* 1.383. Dactyls: *Et. Magnum* 465, which does not go back to Stesimbrotos, cf. Jacoby on Stesimbrotos *FGrH* 107 F 12 (*contra* Teufel, *Brauch*, 175).

is perhaps that the event of creation is too impressive to be seen, but our texts do not really give us any clear clues.

6. *Preliminary conclusion*

When we now look again at our material, we immediately notice that most of it is Greek. In fact, several Roman examples seem to have been inspired by Greek ones, and one may well wonder to what extent Ovid, an important source for the custom, drew his inspiration from Greek models.

As regards the meaning of the custom of not looking backwards, there seems to be room for at least three observations. First, the custom is clearly connected with the act of separation, as was already observed by Robert Parker (§ 3). This is in particular clear with purifications, starting a journey abroad and, perhaps, magic. Separation also seems clear in the case of Euripides' *Andromache* where the chorus sings of Hermes: "Would that the mother who bore him had cast him over her head to an evil end before he came to dwell on a ridge of Ida" (293–4, tr. D. Kovacs).

Second, there is also something of avoidance, of ensuring distance from events that are larger than life such as creations, from the *unheimliche* world of magic and the dead, where we have to deal with powers that cannot be trusted in the normal manner, or from events that are too terrible to watch, such as Jason's murder of Medea's brother Apsyrtos, when Medea "turned away her eyes and covered her face with her veil" so that she should not have to see the slaughter of her brother (AR 4.465–6). Similarly, when in Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* the heroine Leucippe was gruesomely sacrificed, the soldiers and the general "averted their eyes from the sight" (3.15.5). Here we may perhaps also compare reactions expressing an unwillingness to see things that are not meant to be seen, as when Shem and Japhet heard about the nakedness of their father Noah. They

> took a garment, laid it on both their shoulders, and walked backwards and covered the nakedness of their father; their faces were turned away, and they did not see their father's nakedness (*Genesis* 9.23).

The *aversio oculorum*, as the Romans called it,[34] is thus a ritualized form of a natural human reaction. This aversion sometimes seems to go

[34] F. Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 7.789.

together with a fear of what lies behind our backs. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Erythraeans worshipped ὄπισθε θεαί, the 'behind goddesses', whose *personae* we do not know in any detail, but whose ritual was clearly marked by reversals such as receiving a pig instead of a sheep and a nightly festival.[35]

Third, there is also a more banal reason. People simply flee or run away without looking back in order to run as fast as possible. That is undoubtedly the reason why during the Delphian Septerion festival those who had put alight the hut of the dragon Python run away "without looking back".[36] Similarly, after the sacrifice of Leucippe two attendants put her body in the coffin, overturned the altar on which she had been sacrificed and "fled away without looking back" (3.15.6).

In fact, to flee without looking back is a regularly occurring *topos* in Greek and Roman literature, starting with Xenophon (*Symp.* 4.50) and Plato (*Leg.* 9.854c),[37] but Philo was also rather fond of the theme: it is not only his Moses who "runs away without looking back" from Pharaoh (*LA* 3.14).[38] Instead of fleeing, soldiers could also pursue their opponents "without looking back",[39] and in the same manner one could pursue a noble cause.[40] According to *III Maccabees*, when Ptolemy IV Philopator intended to enter the temple after his victory at Raphia in 217 BC, all inhabitants of Jerusalem hurried to the temple. "Even young women who had been secluded in their chambers rushed out with their mothers" (1.18) and "mothers and nurses abandoned even newborn children here and there, some in houses and some in the streets, and without a backward look they crowded together at the most high temple" (1.20). Yet the urge to look back is always strong: when the Flood starts, Philemon and Baucis are told to make for the heights, but they look already back when still an arrow's flight from the summit (Ovid, *Met.* 8.696).

But even in this case, the borders between the different categories are perhaps not always that clear cut. When in Plautus' *Mostellaria* Tranio

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[35] See F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 194f.

[36] Plut. *M.* 418A.

[37] Appian, *BC* 2.9.62, *Syr.* 91, 186; Lucian, *Nigr.* 28; Dio 47.54.4; Eust. on Homer, *Il.* III.250, 4.389, *Od.* 2.291; schol. *Il.* XX.188–94 (sign of extreme cowardice).

[38] Philo, *Confus.* 40, *Heres.* 305, *Praem.* 17, 62, 117, *Sobr.* 13.

[39] Appian, *Hisp.* 25.99, 27.106.

[40] Philo, *Deus* 116, *Migr.* 25, *Virt.* 30; Appian, *BC* 4.17.133; Marc. Aur. 8.5.1; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.1.8.

and Theopropides hear voices from within the haunted house, the former shouts to the latter: "Don't look back! Flee! Cover your head!".[41]

7. *Orpheus and Eurydice; Lot's wife*

Having prepared, so to speak, the ground, we can finally return to the most famous prohibitions on looking back: Orpheus and Eurydice and Lot's wife. However, after all the early parallels it is remarkable that the evidence for the famous condition on which Orpheus could take his wife away from the underworld is so late. In fact, it is not attested before Roman times when Virgil is the first to mention the condition in his fourth *Georgic* (487). Strangely though, neither of the two main modern commentaries on the *Georgics* has anything of interest to say on the motif and neither has the most recent monograph on Orpheus.[42] In fact, the last detailed discussion of the motif in Latin poetry was by Maurice Bowra in a well known, influential article of more than fifty years ago.[43]

Unfortunately, Bowra's analysis is hardly satisfactory. Admittedly, he rightly observes that, since the motif is treated so allusively by Virgil, a source is probable,[44] but this does not necessarily imply a poem as he suggests. Moreover, Bowra could not rise above speculations regarding the dependence of the various poets on the lost source or on each other, and Mynors rightly concludes that his efforts "only show how hard it is for us to form any idea of such a work".[45] Bowra's chronological framework is flawed too, as he wanted to date Conon before Virgil and also the *Culex* rather early. However, the earliest certain date of the appearance of the motif is shortly before 13 Augustus 29 BC, when the whole of the *Georgics* was recited to Augustus.[46] Now the name Eurydice

[41] Plaut. *Most.* 523: *cave respexis, fuge, operi caput.*

[42] Cf. R.F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1988) II.230; C. Segal, *Orpheus. The Myth of the Poet* (Baltimore and London, 1989); R. Mynors, *Virgil Georgics* (Oxford, 1990) 314–7.

[43] C.M. Bowra, "Orpheus and Eurydice," *Class. Quart.* NS 2 (1952) 113–26, reprinted, if slightly altered, in his *On Greek Margins* (Oxford, 1970) 213–32 at 231, which does not supersede J. Heurgon, "Orphée et Eurydice avant Virgile," *Mél. Éc. Franç. Rome* (A) 49 (1932) 6–60.

[44] Bowra, *On Greek Margins*, 213.

[45] Mynors, *Georgics*, 315.

[46] For the date see N.M. Horsfall, *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden, 2000^2) 17, 63–65.

for Orpheus' wife is not attested in surviving Greek literature before the early first-century *Lament for Bion* (124), which does not mention the prohibition on looking back. Older studies often refer to the occurrence of the name Eurydice on a relief of the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora or on a (nowadays missing) Apulian volute krater. Yet, more recent investigations have demonstrated that the name has been added later on the former and does not refer to Orpheus' wife on the latter.[47]

Hermesianax (fr. 7.2) still called Orpheus' wife Agriope. The name Eurydice will therefore have been introduced in a later third-century or early second-century (BC) work of history, mythology or literature, perhaps with a special interest in Thrace and/or Macedonia, as Eurydice was a favourite name of Macedonian queens and princesses, and Orpheus' place of origin, Leibethra, was situated in Macedonia.[48] In fact, Virgil may well have taken over both the name Eurydice and the prohibition on looking back from his source, since from the *Cypria* (fr. 23 D = 31 B) and the *Ilias parva* (fr. 22 D/B) until Ennius, Eurydice had been the name of the wife of Aeneas.[49] Virgil's source probably was a local historian or mythological compendium; the latter is perhaps even likelier, since Apollodorus (1.3.2) too mentions the motif, and his dependence on Greek summaries and excerpts is well established.[50]

The next authors to mention or allude to the motif are Conon and Ovid. Bowra suggested that the account by Conon (*FGrH* 26 F 1, 45) might be earlier than Virgil, since he dedicated his work to the Cappadocian king Archelaus Philopator (36 BC–AD 17) and "differs from Virgil in his account both of the command given to Orpheus and of his death and may be presumed to derive his information direct from a Greek source".[51] Does Bowra's argument still stand? To start with, we now have a firmer basis of appreciating Conon's original work, which until recently was known only through an abbreviation by Photius,

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[47] Bremmer, "Orpheus: from guru to gay" and M. Schmidt, "Bemerkungen zu Orpheus in Unterwelts- und Thrakerdarstellungen," in Ph. Borgeaud (ed.), *Orphisme et Orphée en l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt* (Geneva, 1991) 13–30 at 14 and 31–50 at 33 note 5, respectively.

[48] For the close association between Macedonia and the name Eurydice see Bremmer, "Orpheus," 13–17.

[49] O. Skutsch on Ennius, *Ann.* 53.

[50] See this volume, Chapter V, section 1.

[51] The discussion of Conon's date by M.K. Brown, *The* Narratives *of Konon* (Munich, 2002) 1–6 is not really helpful.

as an original portion has appeared in the meantime. This papyrus, (*POxy*. 52.3648),[52] which overlaps with Conon's stories 46 (about Aeneas) and 47 (about Althaemenes), shows that in his version of 46 Photius probably largely kept Conon's text, if deleting Aeneas' career in Italy, and in 47 abbreviated only a few minor details.[53] In other words, our evidence suggests that our surviving text of Conon is substantially as he wrote it.

As his many Thracian myths show, Conon was particularly interested in Thrace.[54] His sources are most likely local historians, such as the fourth-century Hegesippus of Mecyberna, but his familiarity with Hellenistic poetry "has yet to be established".[55] In other words, it is not immediately likely that Conon found the motif in a Greek poem. However, we know from Servius (*Aen.* 7.738) that Conon also wrote an *Italica* (*FGrH* 26 F 3), and it is thus conceivable that he was familiar with Latin poetry and took some material straight from Virgil. And indeed, a careful comparison between Conon's version of the Aeneas myth and Virgil's *Aeneid* strongly suggests that Conon adapted his version to Virgil's poem.[56] It is certainly possible, then, that he also adapted his version of Orpheus' myth to Virgil's version.

The problem of Ovid's sources is a thorny one, but in this case he certainly used Virgil, as his Orpheus turns around in love (*Met.* 10.57: *flexit amans oculos*); moreover, Ovid will also have made use of a mythological compendium (the same as Virgil?), as Norden noted.[57] In turn, Ovid was much used by the *Culex*, which trivialized the motif by letting

[52] For Conon's work see also A. Henrichs, "Three Approaches to Greek Mythography," in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1988^2) 242–77 at 244–47.

[53] See the analyses by J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999) 228 and Brown, *The* Narratives *of Konon*, 38f.

[54] Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 4 (Olynthus), 10 (Pallene), 13 (Aethilla), 20 (Theoclus), 32 (Europa), 45 (Orpheus); note also a Macedonian myth: 25 (Iapyges).

[55] Lightfoot, *Parthenius*, 227–9, 246.

[56] R.B. Egan, "Aeneas at Aineia and Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Pacific Coast Philology* 9 (1974) 37–47, whose argument is strengthened by the similarity of *POxy*. 52.3648, fr. 2.3–4 with *Aeneid* 3.255ff. and 7.109ff. in the description of the fulfillment of the oracle about the eating of the tables.

[57] E. Norden, *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum* (Berlin, 1966) 516. Ovid's use of such compendia is now stressed by A. Cameron, "A Greek Source of Ovid's Metamorphoses?," in D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin (eds.), *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges offerts à F. Vian* (Alessandria, 2003) 41–59.

Orpheus want to kiss Eurydice (289–93).[58] There can be little doubt, then, that Virgil's introduction of the motif soon became successful.

Despite the number of sources for the motif, none provide even the beginning of an explanation. Yet it seems clear that the idea of a prohibition on looking back as a condition to leave the underworld is a literary invention: we do not find it or something comparable to it in ritual. Moreover, we cannot explain it as being caused by fear of the underworld gods, as Orpheus had clearly played music before them and had entreated them. On the other hand, there is in both Greek and Roman sources a clear connection between the motif of not looking back at the underworld or chthonic powers (§ 1). Apparently, then, a Greek source applied this ritual prohibition in an innovatory manner and used it for his literary aims.

In any case, it should be clear that the situation is rather different from that of Lot's wife. It is true that behind her something dreadful is happening, but in her case the prohibition seems clearly connected to a hasty flight from the place of sin. God explicitly said to Lot: "Flee for your life; do not look back or stop anywhere in the Plain; flee to the hills, or else you will be consumed" (*Genesis* 19.17). And he adds a bit later: "Hurry, escape there, for I can do nothing until you arrive there" (22). It is after these explicit injunctions that the author of *Genesis* mentions the already noted metamorphosis of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt (26). In other words, it is clear that the text itself points to a close connection between haste and not looking back, a connection that we also encountered in our own material (§ 6). This was clearly also the interpretation in the time of Jesus, since he says about the Day of Judgment:

> On that day, anyone on the housetop who has belongings in the house must not come down to take them away; and likewise anyone in the field must not turn back. Remember Lot's wife (*Luke* 17.31–2).

Admittedly, the motif in *Genesis* may well have found its background in an attempt to explain a curious salt formation and naturally some American scholars have tried to identify this formation.[59] Yet its dramatic

[58] For the date of the *Culex* (the time of Tiberius), see D. Güntzschel, *Beiträge zur Datierung des Culex* (Münster, 1972); J.A. Richmond, "Recent Work on the "Appendix Vergiliana" (1950–1975)," *ANRW* 2.31.2 (1981) 1112–54 at 1126f.

[59] J.P. Harland, "Sodom and Gomorrah," *Biblical Archaeologist* 5/2 (1942) 17–32, 6/3 (1943) 41–54; G.M. Harris and A.P. Beardow, "The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah: A geotechnical perspective," *Quart. J. Engineering Geology* 28 (1995) 349–62.

power still speaks to us, as the many works of literature on Lot's wife and Eurydice so vividly attest.

It is not the place here to follow the fortunes of Lot's wife in modern times, but it is clear that there would be room for another article in order to analyse her presence on the World Wide Web. Let me just offer a few items from the thousands of references found by a search on Google.[60] There are rousing sermons by fundamentalists, Christian and Islamic,[61] but Lot's wife is also the name of the student newspaper of Monash University,[62] and the subject of contemporary poetry, paintings and photographs.[63] As regards poetry, surely the most impressive poem is the already mentioned 'Lot's wife' by Anna Akhmatova, written on 24 February 1924, at a time when looking back can hardly have been acceptable. It seems a fitting conclusion to the enigmatic subject of our paper to end with this moving tribute:

Lot's Wife

And the just man trailed God's shining agent,
over a black mountain, in his giant track,
while a restless voice kept harrying his woman:
"It's not too late, you can still look back

at the red towers of your native Sodom,
the square where once you sang, the spinning-shed,
at the empty windows set in the tall house
where sons and daughters blessed your marriage-bed."

A single glance: a sudden dart of pain
stitching her eyes before she made a sound…
Her body flaked into transparent salt,
and her swift legs rooted to the ground.

[60] Websites quoted in the first version of this article had already mostly disappeared. The ones quoted here were accessed on 30 October, 2007.

[61] http://cgg.org/index.cfm/fuseaction/Library.sr/CT/pw/k/498/Remember-Lots-Wife.htm; http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Articles/Prophet/lut.htm; many, many more.

[62] msa.monash.edu.au/sociallife/lotswife/lots.htm.

[63] For this contemporary fascination see M. Harries, *Forgetting Lot's Wife: on destructive spectatorship* (New York, 2007).

Who will grieve for this woman? Does she not seem
too insignificant for our concern?
Yet in my heart I never will deny her,
who suffered death because she chose to turn.[64]

[64] "Lot's Wife" from *Poems of Akhmatova*, translated by Stanley Kunitz, published by Harvill Press (London, 1974) 76f. Reprinted by permission of The Random House Group Ltd.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BALAAM, MOPSUS AND MELAMPOUS: TALES OF TRAVELLING SEERS

One of the attractive sides of the study of ancient languages and cultures is the continual discovery of new material. These discoveries not only regularly increase our knowledge, but they also make us, sometimes, see that received wisdom is in need of correction. For example, it was long believed that the Greek novelist Achilles Tatius dated from the fourth or the sixth century AD until, in 1938, a fragment of his text turned up on a papyrus of the second century.[1] Aeschylus' drama *Suppliants* used to be dated to before the battle of Marathon until a papyrus was published in 1952 that showed its first performance to have been together with a tetralogy by Sophocles; consequently it cannot have been a very early one, as was previously thought.[2] The name of Mezentius, king of Etruscan Caere and fierce opponent of Aeneas, was not attested in Etruria until it was discovered on a seventh-century pot from Caere in 1989.[3] The recent publication of the Aramaic inscription of Tel Dan with its mention of *byt dwd*, 'the city (or 'house') of David', has demonstrated that David is not a completely fictive person, as quite a few Old Testament scholars would have us believe.[4] And the discovery of the Deir 'Alla inscription with the name of Balaam has at least shown that his mention in the Old Testament is not a later invention, but probably goes back to a historical seer.[5]

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[1] Bremmer, "Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus in Christian East Syria," in H. Vanstiphout (ed.), *All those nations… Cultural Encounters within and with the Near East* (Groningen, 1999) 21–29 at 23f.

[2] *POxy*. 20.2256.4, Aeschylus T 70 and fr. 451n with Radt, cf. A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Berne and Munich, 1963²) 271–2, which still shows something of the impact of the discovery.

[3] N. Horsfall on Verg. *Aen*. 7.648; M. Fazio, "Uno, nessuno e centomila Mesenzio," *Athenaeum* 39 (2005) 51–69; L. Kronenberg, "Mezentius the Epicurean," *TAPA* 135 (2005) 403–31.

[4] The basis for all future research now is G. Athas, *The Tel Dan inscription: a reappraisal and a new interpretation* (Sheffield, 2003).

[5] For the discovery and the text see J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Balaam text from Deir 'Alla re-evaluated* (Leiden, 1991); several contributions in G.H. van Kooten and J. van Ruiten (eds.), *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam* (Leiden, 2008).

As far as I can see, most scholars have focussed on the meaning of the inscription and the geographical implications of this fascinating discovery at Deir ʿAlla. Yet there seems to have been little interest in seeing whether the inscription could enrich our understanding of the sociological and religious aspects of the professional seer in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean. In my contribution I would therefore like to pay attention to some of these aspects by comparing Balaam to two famous Greek seers, Mopsus and Melampous, even though our knowledge of Balaam is much sketchier than that of the two Greek seers.

Let us start with some differences. Melampous was the ancestor of Greece's most famous family of seers, the Melampodidae. The mention of a family already illustrates one of the differences between Greek seers and the Israelite prophets. Whereas the latter were organised on the master-pupil principle, as is illustrated by Elija giving his coat to Elisha, the former handed the profession down from father to son. This must have been an old tradition in Greece, as it is already attested in Hesiod (fr. 136) and in the *Odyssey* (15.225–56), where the seer Theoclymenus is said to be the great-grandson of Melampous.[6]

Another difference can be inferred from the Semitic and Greek terms for the seer. In the first line of the Deir ʿAlla inscription, Balaam is said to have *seen* the gods. The more or less contemporary Aramaic inscription of Zakkur, the king of Hamath, says that the god Baal-Shamem spoke to him through *haziyin* (line 12),[7] and the Israelite prophets were called *hozeh*, 'visionaries';[8] in fact, visions are *the* mode of inspiration for the Israelite prophet.[9] The Greek seer, on the other hand, is called *mantis*, which used to be etymologically connected to *mania*, 'madness'. However, more recently it has been seen that this cannot be correct, and a connection with a root **ma*, 'to reveal', has been proposed,[10] but

[6] On the family organisation of Greek seers see Janko on *Iliad* XIII.663–70; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 43–6. Hesiod: West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985) 79f.

[7] See the text and discussion by A. Lemaire, "Oracles, politique et littérature dans les royaumes araméens et transjordaniens (IX^{e}–VIII^{e} s. av. n.è.)," in J.-G. Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1997) 171–93 at 172–5.

[8] *2 Samuel* 24.11; *2 Kings* 17.13; *2 Chronicles* 9.25, 12.15, 19.12, 35.15 and 18, etc., cf. R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1980) 254–6.

[9] *Isaiah* 1.1; *Jeremiah* 14.14, 23.16; *Ezekiel* 12.24, 13.16; *Habakkuk* 2.2–3; *Obadiah* 1; *Nahum* 1.1.

[10] M. Casevitz, "Mantis: le vrai sens," *REG* 105 (1992) 1–18.

this is not wholly persuasive either.[11] The alternative connection with a root **men*, 'to think' remains possible, the more so as the early Greeks considered insight a highly important quality of their seers, witness Hesiod's remark (fr. 203) that 'insight' (*nous*) was the defining quality of the descendants of Amythaon, the father of Melampous. Through this insight they could predict the future or treat their patients' symptoms with a specific technique.

In addition to these differences, there were also resemblances. One of these is the geographical mobility of both Israelite and Greek seers. It is an interesting aspect of the Balaam story that he is sent for by the Moabite king Balak from his town on the Mid-Euphrates (*Numeri* 22.5). Such an invitation is probably not unique, since there are several other indications that kings of the Ancient Near East invited foreign craftsmen and professionals to their courts.[12] Thus Niqmadda II of Ugarit sent a message, probably to Amenophis IV, requesting a doctor, and the fame of Egyptian doctors was indeed such that they were sent to Hattusa.[13] Even Cyrus, according to Herodotus (3.1), had still requested an ophthalmologist from Amasis, and other Persian kings employed Greek physicians.[14] The Hittite kings sent letters to the king of Babylon in order to get hold of conjurers,[15] and a king of Alasia on Cyprus requested 'a (team [?] of male) eagle-diviners' from Egypt, although

[11] See the counter arguments by J. Jouanna, "Oracles et devins chez Sophocle" and E. Lévy, "Devins et oracles chez Hérodote," in Heintz, *Oracles et prophéties*, 283–320 at 284 note 2 and 345–65 at 349–50, respectively.

[12] C. Zaccagnini, "Patterns of Mobility among Near Eastern Craftsmen," *JNES* 42 (1983) 245–64; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1995[2]) 185–88; C. Grottanelli, *Kings and Prophets* (Oxford, 1999) 127–45 (1982[1], not always persuasive); I. Huber, "Von Affenwärtern, Schlangenbeschwörern und Palastmanagern: Ägypter im Mesopotamien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends," in R. Rollinger and B. Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante* (Stuttgart, 2006) 303–29.

[13] Ugarit: J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1915) I.49.22, French translation in W.L. Moran, *Les Lettres d'Él Amarna* (Paris, 1987) 219. Hattusa: E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof: neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses' II. aus Bogazköy* (Opladen, 1976).

[14] Cf. A. Griffiths, "Democedes of Croton. A Greek Doctor at the Court of Darius," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 2 (Leiden, 1987) 37–51; C. Tuplin, "Doctoring the Persians: Ctesias of Cnidus, Physician and Historian," *Klio* 86 (2004) 305–47.

[15] *Keilschriftexte aus Boghazköi* I 10 Rs.42–48; *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* III.71.

such specialists are not attested there;[16] perhaps he was used to the big role of eagles, the birds of Zeus,[17] in early Greek ornithomancy.[18]

Our final example once again comes from the Old Testament. When we look at the succession of Ben-hadad by Hazael, whose name now has turned up in inscriptions in Hera's sanctuary on Samos and in Apollo's in Eretria,[19] we cannot but notice that the prophet Elisha was in Damascus at the right time. Our information is poor, but it is hard to escape the impression that he had been sent for by either the king or one of his grandees (*2 Kings* 8). The notice is perhaps a legendary anecdote, as so many stories about the prophets, but once again must have sounded true to the Israelites.

We have some very interesting cases of such travelling seers in early Greece, namely Mopsus and Melampous, the latter of whom was also reported to converse with animals, just like Balaam and the ass. In the case of Mopsus, our evidence has been enriched in the last decades by several new finds and I will start with him. Unfortunately, the tradition about Mopsus is most confusing.[20] Yet, as always, a firm grasp of the chronology can be of help. Mopsus must have been one of the more prominent early Argonauts, as he regularly appears on representations of the funeral games of Pelias, the king who had initiated the expedition of Jason and his Argonauts: on the famous late seventh-century Chest of Kypselos, on an early sixth-century 'Argive' shield-band from

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[16] Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* I. no. 35.26 (eagle), cf. Moran, *Les Lettres d'Él Amarna*, 203 (thinks of a vulture diviner); L. Hellbing, *Alasia Problems* (Göteborg, 1979) 29–37, to be read with the remarks by P. Arzti, *Bibli. Or*. 41 (1984) 212, whose translation I follow.

[17] J.M. Hemelrijk, "Zeus' Eagle," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 76 (2001) 115–31.

[18] *Il.* VIII.247, XII.200–9, XXIV.310–11; Pind. *I.* 6.50; Aesch. *Ag.* 104–59; Xen. *Anab*. 6.1.23; Posidippus 31 AB (eagles as omen for the Argead kings; for eagles and the Macedonian kings see now A. Suspène, "Un aigle dans le monnayage de Philippe II de Macédoine," *Revue Numismatique* 162, 2006, 119–33).

[19] H. Kyrieleis and W. Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 103 (1988) 37–75; I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *Israel Expl. J.* 39 (1989) 192–200; E. Bron and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," *Rev. d'Assyriologie* 83 (1989) 35–44; Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 16; F. Fales, "Rivisitando l'iscrizione aramaica dall' Heraion di Samo," in A. Naso (ed.), *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci* (Florence, 2006) 230–52.

[20] Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961) 44–50; D. Metzler, "Der Seher Mopsos auf den Münzen der Stadt Mallos," *Kernos* 3 (1990) 235–50 (too speculative); J. Vanschoonwinkel, "Mopsos: légendes et réalité," *Hethitica* 10 (1990) 185–211; T. Ganschow, "Mopsos II," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 652–4; Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 52–3; T.S. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* (Munich, 1993) 153–271.

Olympia and on a later sixth-century hydria from Etruscan Vulci.[21] As on two of these representations Mopsus is shown boxing, the name of his father Ampyx probably derived from a popular etymology connected with the root **pug*, 'fist, boxing'.[22] Consequently, the Mopsus, son of Ampyx, who is mentioned in an enumeration of Lapiths in the sixth-century pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (181), must have been the invention of a poet at a loss for names.[23] Yet the name proved to be successful and in Roman times it was told that Mopsus' father Ampyx had been a seer as well, one more example of a family of seers.[24]

Mopsus' Argonautic status is confirmed by Pindar. In his *Fourth Pythian Ode* (189–91) on the expedition of the Argonauts he mentions that 'the seer Mopsus, carrying out for him (Jason) divination by means of birds and holy lots, readily embarked upon the expedition', when the Greeks had assembled at Iolcus. And indeed, a more recently published small papyrus fragment from an archaic poem mentions Orpheus, Mopsus, Jason and Aietes in an Argonautic context.[25]

It may seem strange to us that a seer was a good boxer, but we must not forget that early Greek seers were also redoubtable warriors. Homer mentions the Trojan seer Helenus, the son of the Trojan king Priam, on the battlefield, and an Olympian shield-band shows the seer Amphiaraus with full military equipment. The latter is even explicitly called by Pindar (*O* 6.16–7): 'good both as a seer and at fighting with the spear', but because of the treachery of his wife, who sold her husband for a necklace, Amphiaraus did not survive the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.[26] In fact, death on the battlefield was not uncommon, and several seers were killed in action. When at Thermopylae in 480

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[21] Paus. 5.17.10, cf. A. Snodgrass, "Pausanias and the Chest of Kypselos," in S. Alcock *et al*. (eds.), *Pausanias. Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford, 2001) 127–41 at 128; R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 180–1 (Vulci), 298 (Olympia).

[22] Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*, 298 note 1078. Did he give his name to Thessalian Mopsion? For this obscure town and its debated location see Strabo 9.5.22; *SEG* 47.668, 48.660, 49.619, but see also B. Helly and J.-C. Decourt, *Bull. Epigr*. 2000, no. 413.

[23] *Contra* Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter*, 157.

[24] Ov. *Met*. 12.524; Hyg. *Fab*. 128.

[25] *POxy*. 53.3698; note also AR 1.65–6, 80, 1083, 2.923, 3.543, 916–7, 4.1502–3 (death); Stat. *Theb*. 3.521; Val. Flacc. 1.207, 234, etc.; Sil. It. 3.521.

[26] Helenus: *Il*. XIII.576–600, cf. T. Ganschow, "Helenos," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 613–4; Bremmer, "Helenos," in *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998) 282. Amphiaraus: I. Krauskopf, "Amphiaraos," in *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 691–713. For the spelling of his name see now Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*, 76f.

BC the Spartan army, with its king Leonidas, was massacred by the Persians, the seer Megistias was among the dead. During the Athenian invasion of Egypt in the middle of the fifth century, the seer Telenikos perished, and we can still read his name in big letters on the inscription honouring the fallen. The death of Stilbides, the chief military seer of Nicias during the Athenian invasion of Sicily, shortly before the eclipse of 27 August 413, proved to be fatal, because Nicias was now forced to rely on other seers, whose advice led him to doom the mission through delay. In a list of citizens of Argos who were killed on campaign c. 400 BC, the *mantis* is mentioned immediately after the 'king' (*probasileus*).[27] And finally, the epitaph of the maternal uncle of the orator Aeschines celebrates him as both warrior and *mantis*.[28] The latter activity is stressed by the motif of the eagle carrying a snake on his relief, which alludes to the well-known omen in *Iliad* XII, which in turn was used several times by Aristophanes.[29]

Military seers are, it seems, no longer attested in Athens in the later fourth century, but they continued to be important in Macedonia, where Philip II and his son Alexander the Great still fully employed seers for military aims. Both kings especially consulted Aristandros, a seer from Telmessos. This Carian city, of which the ruins are still visible in the south-east of present-day Turkey, was famous for its seers, and it is typical in the motif of the wandering of seers that some of them evidently journeyed to far-away Macedonia. The employment of seers by Alexander is now also attested by the new Posidippus. One of his epigrams reads as follows:

> A *mantis* lies beneath the crow, the Thracian hero
> Strymon, supreme steward of bird-omens.

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[27] Megistias: Hdt. 7.228 = Simonides VI Page. Telenikos: *IG* I^3 1147.129. Stilbides: A. Sommerstein and S. Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1031. Argos: *SEG* 29.361. On military seers see the full survey by W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, vol. III (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979) 47–90; R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique* (Paris, 1979) 95–115; M.H. Jameson, "Sacrifice before battle," in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: the classical Greek battle experience* (London, 1991) 197–227 at 204–5; R. Parker, "Sacrifice and Battle," in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and violence in ancient Greece* (London, 2000) 299–314.

[28] P. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n.* (Berlin and New York, 1989) no. 519; Aeschines 2.78, cf. R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 117 note 5.

[29] *Il.* XII.200–9; Ar. *Eq.* 197–210, *Vesp.* 15–9, cf. M. Schmidt, "Adler und Schlange. Ein griechisches Bildzeichen für die Dimension der Zukunft," *Boreas* 6 (1983) 61–71; Y. Turnheim, "The Eagle and the Snake on Synagogue Lintels in the Golan," *Rivista di Archeologia* 24 (2000) 106–13.

> This is the title Alexander gave him with his seal, for three times he defeated
> the Persians after consulting his crow.[30]

Aristandros, though, was the last prominent wandering seer. Alexander's successors no longer needed such advisors.[31] In the light of these parallels, it should not be surprising that Balaam died on the battlefield too, this time in the service of the Midianite kings (*Numeri* 31.8). Even if the notice is a later invention, it must have sounded true to the Israelite reader. In any case, although it is not stated explicitly, the tradition about the prophet Samuel's involvement in the wars against the Philistines also suggests that he participated in the fighting (*1 Samuel* 7).

Naturally, Mopsus' expertise in bird augury conforms more to our idea of a seer. This technique was indeed highly important to the Greeks. The prototypical Greek seer Calchas was

> by far the best of the ornithomancers, who knows the present, the future and the past, and who guided the ships of the Greeks to Troy through the mantic skill that Phoebus Apollo had given him (*Il.* I.69–72).

The already mentioned Helenus was also "by far the best of the ornithomancers" (VI.76), and Teiresias, perhaps the most famous seer of Greece, could even understand the language of the birds.[32] In fact, in the *Iliad* bird omens always come true.[33]

It is therefore somewhat surprising to hear that, in addition to ornithomancy,[34] Mopsus was also an expert in cleromancy.[35] The most likely

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[30] Posidippus 35 AB, cf. S. Schröder, "Überlegungen zu zwei Epigrammen des neuen Mailänder Papyrus," *ZPE* 139 (2002) 27–9.

[31] Aristandros: P. Kett, *Prosopographie der historischen griechischen Manteis bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* (Diss. Nuremberg, 1966) 25–9. Telmessos: Kett, *ibidem*, 99–101; D. Harvey, "Herodotus I, 78 and 84: Which Telmessos?," *Kernos* 4 (1991) 245–58; add now the Telmessian seer Damon in Posidippus 34 AB, who may be another example of a travelling seer.

[32] Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 92a = F 92a Fowler; note also Soph. *Ant.* 999–1004; Paus. 9.16.1; A. Ambühl, *Kinder und junge Helden. Innovative Aspekte des Umgangs mit der literarischen Tradition bei Kallimachos* (Leuven, 2005) 110.

[33] Janko on *Il.* XIII.821–3. For Greek bird augury see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* I (Paris, 1879) 127–45; W. Halliday, *Greek divination* (London, 1913) 246–71; D. Collins, "Reading the Birds: *Oiônomanteia* in Early Epic," *Colby Quarterly* 38 (2001) 17–41.

[34] Note also AR 1.66.

[35] For the technique see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* I, 190–7; Halliday, *Greek divination*, 205–18; A.S. Pease on Cic. *Div.* I.12; most recently, C. Grottanelli, "*Sorte unica pro casibus pluribus enotata*: Literary Texts and Lot Inscriptions as Sources for Ancient Kleromancy," in S.I. Johnston and P. Struck (eds.), *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient*

explanation is perhaps Mopsus' connection with the oracle of Klaros, the Greek word for lot, near Kolophon. A sixth-century poem, the Hesiodic *Melampodia*, relates that Mopsus had met and defeated Calchas, who subsequently died from grief, in a riddle contest at Klaros.[36] The tradition must be relatively early, as the summary (*Argumentum*) of the ancient *Nostoi* also connects Calchas with Kolophon.[37] In fact, it is a recurrent motif in these stories that the defeated seer forfeits his life. Such stories can also be found in the Indian *Rigveda* and *Upanishads*, Irish sagas and Norse literature. Evidently, Hesiod employed here an old Indo-European story type.[38]

Sophocles used the same motif but opted for a different location. He moved the scene to Cilicia in his tragedy *The Demand for Helen's Return* (frr. 180, 180a), and this had become accepted knowledge in the fourth century, as Alexander's historian Callisthenes writes:

> Calchas died in Klaros, but the men with Mopsus passed over the Taurus. Some remained in Pamphylia, but the others were dispersed in Cilicia and Syria as far as even Phoenicia.[39]

It is not crystal clear what this means. Did Callisthenes want to explain the presence of Greeks in southeast Anatolia or the presence of Mopsus or both? All three possibilities seem plausible. In any case, it is clear that Mopsus was associated with Pamphylia too, since the region was also called Mopsopia and he was connected with several of its cities.[40]

It is rather curious that Mopsus was also reported to have killed another seer, Amphilochos. Both Mopsus and Amphilochos came with their men from Troy and founded Mallos, a Cilician town well known

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Divination (Leiden, 2005) 129–46. For Christian applications see most recently P.W. van der Horst, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem* (Leuven, 2002) 159–89 ("*Sortes*: Sacred Books as Instant Oracles in Late Antiquity," 1998[1]); W. Klingshirn, "Defining the *Sortes Sanctorum*: Gibbon, Du Cange, and Early Christian Lot Divination," *J. Early Christian Stud.* 10 (2002) 77–130 and "Christian Divination in Late Roman Gaul: the Sortes Sangallenses," in Johnston and Struck, *Mantikê*, 99–128.

[36] Hes. fr. 278; Pherecydes *FGrH* F 142 = F 142 Fowler; Euphorion frr. 97–8, cf. *SH* 429. For Mopsus and Kolophon note also Dictys 1.17; Dares 18.

[37] See also Hes. fr. 278; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 142 = F 142 Fowler; Lycophron 424–5 and Tzetses on 427–30; Callisthenes *apud* Strabo 14.4.3 (see Radt's critical apparatus); Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 6; Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2; schol. Dionysios Periegetes 850.

[38] M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 72–4, 364.

[39] Callisthenes *apud* Strabo 14.4.3.

[40] Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 103; Pliny, *NH.* 5.96; *I. Perge* 106; Pomp. Mela 1.14.79; Athenaeus 7.297f.; scholion on Dionysios Periegetes 850; *JHS* 78 (1958) 57 (inscription with Mopsus' name in Sillyon).

for its oracle.[41] The two seers fought and killed one another in a fight over the kingship. They were buried at Magarsa near the river Pyramus. However, this tradition becomes visible only in the earlier second-century poem *Alexandra* of Lycophron and must postdate the conquests of Alexander the Great.[42] As in the sixth century BC Amphilochos was already reputed to have been killed by Apollo in Cilicia, the co-existence of two famous seers in the same region may well have created the myth of their rivalry.[43] The idea of two seers as leaders of a military expedition perhaps looks odd, but the custom of having two commanders is very old and may well explain the Spartan dyarchy.[44] Sometimes, we even find seers among the two leaders: Poulydamas was a seer and a comrade in arms of Hector, with whom he commanded the young warriors (*Il.* XII.196), and among the Trojan allies "Chromis and the ornithomancer Ennomos" (II.858) commanded the Mysians, who may well be the Muški of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, even though both names are Greek.[45]

Now Mopsus is not a figure with clear family ties to other Greek mythological figures. His mother Manto is not mentioned before the third-century Philostephanos (*apud* Athenaeus 7.297), and his father Apollo does not appear before Strabo.[46] In other words, it very much seems that Mopsus was an outsider in Greek mythology. Yet in Cilicia we find several place names that seem to be associated with him, such as Mopsuestia and Mopsukrene, names that clearly betray their Greek origin and therefore most likely postdate Alexander the Great.[47] So where do we look for the origin of Mopsus?

A whole new stage in the study of Mopsus was reached in Karatepe in 1946, when an eighth-century Hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription turned up in which the local kingdom of Que was

[41] W. Ruge, "Mallos," in *RE* XIV (1930) 916–7; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter*, 222–41; K. Ehling *et al*. (eds.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien* (Bonn, 2004) 126–30 (by Ehling).

[42] Lycophron 439–46; Strabo 14.5.16; Cic. *Div*. I.88; Apollod. *Ep*. 6.19.

[43] Hes. fr. 279, cf. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter*, 170.

[44] See this volume, Chapter IV, notes 10 and 11.

[45] For Chromis see now also *P.Köln* VI.245 and P. Weiss, "Chromios," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 275f. Muški and names: Latacz on *Il*. II.858.

[46] Strabo 14.5.16; Apollod. *Ep*. 6.3; Conon *FGrH* 24 F 1, 6; Pomp. Mela 1.88; Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1.21.134.4.

[47] W. Ruge, "Mopsu(h)estia" and "Mopsukrene," in *RE* XVI (1933) 243–50 and 250–1; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter*, 241–53; *contra* J. Strubbe, "Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte: Fiktion und Realität," *Ancient Society* 15–17 (1984–86) 253–304 at 274–6.

called *bt mpš*, 'house of Mopsus'.[48] This may be compared to the already mentioned discovery of the expression *byt dwd* in the Tel Dan inscription.[49] The Phoenician text of a very recently published new example of such bilinguals even states that the king himself, the well attested, late eighth-century Urikki, was 'an offspring of the house of Mopsus', whereas the Luwian version calls him a 'descendant of [Muk]sas'.[50]

It seems to me that this difference in spelling has not yet received the attention it deserves. The Luwian spelling Muksas is confirmed by the fact that the late fifteenth-century Hittite Maduwattas text of Boghazköy mentions a certain Mukshus, until now the first and only occurrence of that name in Hittite texts.[51] However, a reflection of this name can be noticed in Linear B texts where we find the name *Mo-qo-so* twice, in mainland Pylos (PY Sa 774) and in Cretan Knossos (KN De 1381). Unfortunately, we do not know whether the name derives from slavery, guest friendship or other circumstances.[52] Evidently, the name had a long life, as the fifth-century Lydian historian Xanthos mentions an early Lydian king Moxus, even though this has become Mopsus in part of the manuscript tradition.[53] Moreover, in recent discussions it has been overlooked that the name Moxus must have been rather popular in Lydia, as it occurs no less than four times among forty names in a later fourth-century BC Ephesian inscription about the condemnation to death of inhabitants of Sardis.[54] There even was a rather obscure Lydian city, Moxoupolis, which also attests to the continuity of the

[48] See now J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* I.1–3 (Berlin and New York, 2000) A I.16, II.5, III.1.

[49] A. Lemaire, "The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," *J. Study Old Test*. 81 (1998) 3–14 and "Maison de David", "maison de Mopsos", et les "Hivvites," in C. Cohen *et al*. (eds.), *Sefer Moshe: the Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (Winona Lake, 2004) 303–12.

[50] R. Tekoglu and A. Lemaire, "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy," *CRAI* 2000, 961–1007; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven, 2004) 122–3; G. Lanfranchi, "The Luwian-Phoenician Bilingual of Çineköy and the Annexation of Cilicia to the Assyrian Empire," in R. Rollinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift M. Schretter* (Münster, 2005) 481–96.

[51] See now J.D. Hawkins, "Muksas," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8 (1993–97) 413.

[52] For contacts between Mycenaeans and Hittites see most recently W.-D. Niemeier, "Minoans, Mycenaeans, Hittites and Ionians in Western Asia Minor: New Excavations in Bronze Age Miletus-Millawanda," in A. Villing (ed.), *The Greeks in the East* (London, 2005) 1–36.

[53] Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 17, where Jacoby prints Μόξου against the manuscript reading Μόψου, as Nicolaus Damascenus *FGrH* 90 F 16 has Μόξος; similarly Suda μ 1245.

[54] *I. Ephesos* 2 = *SEG* 36.1011.24, 26, 28, 51.

name, and it is not impossible that the name of the Phrygian tribe of the Moxonaoi or Moxeanoi also goes back, eventually, to the name Moxus.[55]

From the onomastic evidence we can conclude that the Hittites and Luwians wrote Moxus and that this spelling was also taken over by the peoples adjacent to the former Hittite empire, such as the Lydians and the Mycenaean Greeks. The conclusion must therefore be that the Greeks derived the spelling Mopsus from the Phoenicians.[56] The place where this most likely happened was Cilicia, the only region where we actually find the name and spelling Mopsus in the already mentioned bilinguals.[57] However, the derivation may have been indirect. Opposite Cilicia was Cyprus, which had close ties with the mainland,[58] and where we find a word *mopsos*, 'a stain on cloth'.[59] The Cypriots related that the family of their former Paphian seers, the Tamiradae, had come from Cilicia.[60] It may fit this tradition that the south coast of modern Turkey once was well known for its many divinatory centres.[61] Apparently, there originated in the seventh or sixth century BC a tradition about a powerful Cilician seer to whom the Greeks gave the Phoenician-influenced name Mopsus, even though Luwian speakers must have called him Moxus.

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[55] Moxoupolis: V. Bérard, "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 15 (1890) 538–62 at 556 no. 38 (= *OGIS* 2). Moxonaoi: *I. Ephesos* 13 = *SEG* 37.884 II 35; C. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 86.

[56] M. Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* (Cambridge, 2005) 150–2 argues the other way round, but she takes the isolated position of Mopsus in Greek mythology insufficiently into account.

[57] H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols (Wiesbaden, 1966–69[2]) A I 16, II.15, III.11; C IV 12; A. Strobel, *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm* (Berlin, 1976) 31–38; F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions de Karatepe* (Geneva and Paris, 1979) 172–6; W. Röllig, "Appendix I—The Phoenician Inscriptions," in H. Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* II (Berlin and New York, 1999) 50–81.

[58] For Cyprus and Cilician Corycus see J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999) 183–85.

[59] Hesych. s.v. μόψος: κηλὶς ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις. Κύπριοῖ.

[60] Tac. *Hist*. 2.3.1; Hsch. *s.v*. Ταμιράδαι.

[61] R. Lebrun, "Quelques aspects de la divination en Anatolie du sud-ouest," *Kernos* 3 (1990) 185–95.

Our second wandering Greek seer is Melampous or, less frequently, Melampos.[62] His myth developed in all directions,[63] but I will limit myself here to its older strata. The *Odyssey* tells his story twice, but the first time it refers to him only as the 'blameless seer' (11.291). Evidently, the story was already familiar to Homer's audience and thus presupposes a pre-Homeric epic version.[64] From the two versions in the *Odyssey*, the fragmentarily preserved Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 37), the pseudo-Hesiodic *Melampodeia* (frr. 271–2) and the fifth-century Athenian mythographer Pherecydes, we can reconstruct the following plot of the myth.[65] King Neleus of Pylos was willing to give his daughter Pero in marriage only to that suitor who succeeded in bringing Iphicles' refractory cattle from Thessalian Phylace. The only one to try was Melampous, who wanted the girl for his brother Bias. Melampous had raised some snakes that had licked his ears so that he could understand the language of birds and thus acquired the art of divination.[66] Unfortunately, he fell into the hands of Iphicles' herdsmen and was put into chains. When in prison he heard woodworms tell that the beams were nearly gnawed and requested a transfer to a different cell.[67] He was now recognized by his captors for the seer he was, released and presented with the cattle. These in turn he gave to Neleus, who then married Pero off to Bias.

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[62] For the form Melampos see Pind. *P.* 4.126, *Pae.* 4.28; Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*, 108–9, who also compares the personal name Melampodoros (-dora), cf. *IG* II^2 6539; *IG* VII.2–7–8, 216, 223, 232; *BCH* 18 (1894) 497 no. 4, all clearly influenced by Melampous' sanctuary at Aigosthena, for which see E. Simon, "Melampous," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 405–10 at 406f. Note also the name Melampos on Paros (*SEG* 26.974).

[63] See most recently I. Löffler, *Die Melampodie* (Meisenheim, 1963); K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (London and New York, 1989) 96–115; E. Suárez de la Torre, "Les pouvoirs des devins et les récits mythiques," *Les Et. Class.* 60 (1992) 3–21; Simon, "Melampous"; Ph. Borgeaud, "Melampous and Epimenides: Two Greek Paradigms of the Treatment of Mistake," in J. Assmann and G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (Leiden, 1999) 287–300.

[64] Thus Heubeck on *Od.* 11.291–7.

[65] *Od.* 11.291–7, 15.2225–55; Hes. fr. 37.1–9, 261, 270–72 (?) ff.; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 33 = F 33 Fowler; Propertius 2.4.1.

[66] The motif also explains the mantic gifts of Helenus and Cassandra, cf. Antikleides *FGrH* 140 F 17; Arrianos *FGrH* 156 F 102 (rationalised); M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden, 1997) no. 50; schol. and Eust. on *Il.* VII.44. Note that Melampous had learned the art from the Egyptians according to Herodotus (2.49).

[67] For Melampous' knowledge of the language of animals see also Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 33 = F 33 Fowler; Pliny, *NH* 10.137; Apollod. 1.9.11; schol.Theocr. 3.43–5; Eust. on *Od.* 11.292.

According to the *Odyssey* (15.238–9), having won his brother a wife, Melampous left Pylos, his place of birth,[68] for Argos, where he became a ruler. The myth behind this lapidary statement is known from other sources, even though these seem a bit confused. One of the problems, surely, is that it has been demonstrated only very recently that a number of source citations in later mythographical authors cannot be correct and must be viewed with utmost skepticism.[69] This is clearly also the case in one of the sources concerning Melampous. According to Apollodorus (2.2.2), Hesiod (fr. 131) explained the madness of the daughters of Proitos from their refusal to accept the mysteries of Dionysos, whereas Acusilaus of Argos (*FGrH* 2 F 28 = F 28 Fowler), who lived before the Persian Wars, had stated that they mocked the wooden statue of Hera. However, from other sources it is clear that Hesiod, too, mentioned Hera as the cause of the madness, and moreover, the mysteries of Dionysos can hardly have existed already in his time.[70] So what did Melampous do in Argos?

The daughters of King Proitos of Tiryns had become mad and wandered over the country, their skins covered with a kind of white eczema. Melampous promised to heal the girls if he received a substantial reward. At first the king refused, but eventually he had to give in. Melampous cured the girls, and both he and his brother received part of Proitos' territory and a daughter as wife.[71] The myth is later retold with Dionysos as the main god and all the women of Argos as protagonists, but it still contains the reward of the kingship. The continuing connection with Bias may well point to the old motif of the double kingship (above). Even if Argos is the centre of Melampous' activities, tradition connected him also with many other places

[68] *Od*. 15.225–6; Hdt. 9.34; Apollod. 1.9.11.

[69] A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (New York, 2004).

[70] A. Henrichs, "Die Proitiden im hesiodischen Katalog," *ZPE* 15 (1974) 297–301; M. Dorati, "Pausania, le Pretidi e la triarchia argiva," in P. Bernardini (ed.), *La città di Argo. Mito, storia, tradizioni poetiche* (Rome, 2004) 295–320; D. Cairns, "Myth and *Polis* in Bacchylides' Eleventh Ode," *JHS* 125 (2005) 35–50. This makes the analysis of W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983) 170–1 less persuasive in its combination of Dionysos and Hera.

[71] Hes. fr. 133; Bacch. 11.39–110 with Maehler; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 114 = F 114 Fowler; Alexis fr. 117; *PHerc*. 1609 VIII, cf. Henrichs, "Die Proitiden"; Vitruvius 8.3.51.5; Strabo 8.3.19; Paus. 2.25.9, 5.5.10; Apollod. 2.2.2; Steph.Byz., s.v. *Oinê*; schol. Call. *H*. 3.236. Eust. on Dionysius Periegetes 292, 15–21; Hsch. α 3345; Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks*, 80–84.

on the Peloponnese, such as Elis, Sikyon, Asine,[72] and Lousoi. Clearly, Melampous was a really wandering seer.[73]

This is not the place to present a full analysis of the Melampous myth. That would require another paper at least. In the perspective of a comparative analysis of Greek and Near Eastern prophets, however, two more aspects seem to me worth commenting upon.

First, it is clear that Melampous is already a full-fledged *mantis* before he is married. We are not told at what age he received Proitos' daughter as wife, but the age of adulthood in mythology is twenty. That is when Jason comes to King Pelias to ask for his heritage, that is when Telemachus goes out to seek for his father Odysseus, and that is when Oedipus sets out to Delphi to inquire about this parents; twenty is also the age when the Cretan novices got married *en masse*.[74] Perhaps we have to think of a difference in age between the nobility and the smaller farmers, as Hesiod advises thirty as the proper age to marry,[75] but Melampous was clearly fairly young when he started to perform as a seer. This was probably not chance, as youth is also the characteristic of another great seer in Greece. In addition to the Melampodidae, the seer family that claimed Melampous as its ancestor, there was also another famous seer family in Greece, the Iamidai, the custodians of Zeus' prophetic altar at Olympia.[76] Their first ancestor Iamos had just attained adulthood when he was called in the middle of the night (compare Samuel!) by his grandfather Poseidon and father Apollo to go to Olympia.[77] Last but not least, Teiresias surprised Athena in the nude while bathing in a fountain and was punished with blindness. In compensation, the goddess made "him a seer to be sung of men hereafter, yea, more excellent far than any other". At this fateful moment Teiresias was still a youth, as "the down was just darkening on his cheek".[78]

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[72] Bacch. fr. 4, cf. S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* (Oxford, 2004) 124f.

[73] M. Jost, "La légende de Mélampous en Argolide et dans le Péloponnèse," *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, Suppl. 22 (1992) 173–84.

[74] Jason: Pind. *P.* 4. Oedipus: schol. *Od.* 11.271; note also Paris' coming off age at twenty (Eur. *Alexandros*, Arg. 12–13). Collective marriage: see the suggestive observations by L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968) 39–45.

[75] Hes. *Op.* 696–7 with West.

[76] Kett, *Prosopographie der historischen griechischen Manteis*, 84–93.

[77] Pind. *O.* 6.57ff., cf. L. Gernet, *Polyvalence des images. Testi e frammenti sulla leggenda greca*, ed. A. Soldani (Pisa, 2004) 54f.

[78] Call. *H.* 5.75–6 (beard), 121–2 (seer), tr. A.W. Mair, Loeb. For the episode see C. Calame, *Poétique des mythes dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 2000) 169–205; Ambühl, *Kinder und junge Helden*, 99–160.

We may think that such an age is too young for a proper *mantis*; certainly, if we think of a seer as venerable as Teiresias. Yet we cannot fail to notice that also in the *Old Testament* Samuel's commission story starts with the words: "Now the boy Samuel was ministering to the LORD under Eli" (*1 Samuel* 3.1). Subsequently he receives a vision, and the chapter is concluded with the words:

> As Samuel grew up, the LORD was with him and let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan to Beer-sheba knew that Samuel was a trustworthy prophet of the LORD. The Lord continued to appear at Shiloh, for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel at Shiloh by the word of the LORD (*1 Samuel* 3.19–21).

It is clear that Samuel was still pretty young when he was made a prophet.

The second aspect worth noticing is that in the myth of Melampous the seer is able to acquire part of the territory and thus to become king. We already encountered this connection with rulership in the myth of Mopsus' fight with Amphilochos (above). We may also note the name Koiranos, 'Ruler', among the descendants of Melampous,[79] who was also king of Argos,[80] and it may be significant in this respect that the verb μαντεύεσθαι seems to have been formed in analogy to βασιλεύς/βασιλεύειν.[81] Finally, a connection with political life appears in the function of Melampous' sanctuary at Aigosthena as the local archive.[82] Kings as seers or vice versa may look strange to us, but they are already well attested in the *Iliad*. The already mentioned Ennomos, who commanded the Mysians together with Chromis (II.858), was an 'ornithomancer', and king Merops of Percote did not see that his sons were not to return home from the war, even though he "beyond all men knew predictions" (II.831).[83] Other examples of king-seers are Anios of Delos (a son of Apollo), Mounichos (a king of the Molossians), Teneros and Phineus, the blind Thracian king whose divinatory qualities incited the

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[79] *Il.* V.148 with scholion, XIII.566–70 with Janko; Hes. fr. 136 (?); Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 115 = F 115 Fowler; Soph. fr. 391; Paus. 1.43.5; Apollod. 3.3.1. Koiranos' etymology: A. Heubeck, "Koiranos, korragos und Verwandtes," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* NF 4 (1978) 91–8.

[80] Hes. fr. 136.3; Pind. *O.* 13.75.

[81] Lévy, "Devins et oracles chez Hérodote," 354.

[82] *IG* VII.207–8.

[83] For these Trojans see P. Wathelet, *Dictionnaire des Troyens de l'Iliade*, 2 vols (Liège, 1988) *s.v.*; add for the sons of Merops, B. Hainsworth, *The Iliad: a commentary*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1993) 262f.

Argonauts to shoot down the Harpies who daily defecated on his food.[84] In short, king-seers are well attested in ancient Greece.

In this respect there is a significant difference from the Israelite prophets. They also came close to the corridors of power, but they did not rise above the level of kingmaker. This becomes clear from the involvement of Samuel with both Saul (*1 Samuel* 10–11) and David (*1 Samuel* 16), of Ahija with Jerobeam (*1 Kings* 11), and of both Elijah and Elisha with both Jehu (*1 Kings* 19; *2 Kings* 9) and Hazael (*1 Kings* 19; *2 Kings* 8), the already mentioned Syrian king. In none of these cases does the Israelite prophet become a king himself. In fact, the Israelites had deposed the prophet Samuel from his pre-eminent position and replaced him with Saul as king (*1 Samuel* 8–11).

In the cases of Mopsus and Melampous, seers could still reach the ultimate position of power, kingship, as they undoubtedly all came from the aristocratic class, and the political situation in Greece had not yet reached a certain equilibrium.[85] It seems to me that this must reflect the pre-Homeric situation. In the historical Archaic Age we still hear of wandering seers, but no longer of seers reaching the highest positions in society. We cannot be completely certain about the Cretan Thaletas who went to Sparta to purify them from a plague.[86] However, the Cretan Epimenides went to Athens in the 590s BC to purify the city from a plague or pollution,[87] but he also visited Sparta where they preserved an oracle scroll carrying his name.[88] Abaris was an archaic healer-seer who probably practised in the mid-sixth century BC, and who forecast plagues in Athens and Sparta.[89] The Boeotian seer Bakis

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[84] Anios: Ph. Bruneau, "Anios," in *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 793–4; *SEG* 32.218.41, 80; AD Trendall, "The Daughters of Anios," in E. Böhr and W. Martini (eds.), *Studien zu Mythologie und Vasenmalerei* (Mainz, 1986) 165–8; M. Halm-Tisserant, "De Délos à l'Apulie: les filles d'Anios et le peintre de Darius," *Ktema* 25 (2000) 133–42. Mounichos: Ant. Lib. 14; L. Paleocrassa, "Mounichos," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 655–7. Teneros: Pindar, fr. 51d and 52g.13; Strabo 9.2.34; Paus. 9.26.1; schol. Pind. *P.* 11.5 and Lycophron 1211; I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (Oxford, 2001) 343f. Phineus: A. Kislinger, *Phineus* (Diss. Vienna, 1940); L. Kahil, "Phineus I," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 387–91. Note also Polyb. 34.2.6 on Danaus and Atreus as kings and seers.

[85] For the social status of the archaic seer see Bremmer, "The Status and Symbolic Capital of the Seer," in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis* (Stockholm, 1996) 97–109.

[86] Pratinas *TGrF* 4 F 9; Ael. *VH* 12.50.

[87] R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1982) 209–10.

[88] Bremmer, "The Skins of Pherekydes and Epimenides," *Mnemosyne* IV 46 (1993) 234–36.

[89] Lycurgus, fr. 14.5a; Apollonius, *Mir.* 4; Iambl. *VP* 28; Suda α 18; Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 38.

lived only slightly later, as Pisistratus was nicknamed after him, and he purified the Spartan women after an outbreak of madness.[90] The last great healer-seer was Empedocles, who worked in the mid-fifth century in the full light of history and even called himself 'a wanderer' (B 112, 115).[91] Yet in that century seers increasingly declined in esteem, except for the military seers who remained in favour well into the Hellenistic era. It is therefore significant that in fourth-century comedy the great Melampous is described purifying the daughters of Proitos with a torch, a squill and hellebore, just like contemporary low-class peddlers of purification.[92] The days of the great wandering seers were definitively a phenomenon of the past.

Before I draw my conclusion I may perhaps be permitted to pose a problem. Until now we have spoken about male seers, but do we also find female travelling seers? In the Old Testament we find the fascinating story of Deborah, a prophetess who was also a judge. When she calls a certain Barak to lead the Israelites against the army of the Canaanites at Mount Tabor, he only goes if she goes with him, and so, the text says, "Deborah went up with him" (*Judges* 4.10). This is as much travelling, I fear, as we find among the Israelite prophetesses. It probably was not very different in ancient Greece.

It is only in the last decade that attention has been drawn to the existence of female *manteis*. We have a relief of a female *mantis* from Mantinea with a liver in her hand,[93] and it may not be chance that, according to Plato, a certain Diotima came from Mantinea to Athens and "for those who made sacrifices as she directed, she achieved a delay of the advent of the plague for ten years", which makes her look very much like Epimenides.[94] In the fourth century the *mantis* Theoris was condemned to death in Athens on the charge of poisoning,[95] and

[90] Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 77; Suda β 47; cf. W. Burkert, "Apokalyptik im frühen Griechentum: Impulse und Transformationen," in D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean world and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983) 235–54 at 248–9; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 1996) 87; O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca selecta*, vol. 3 (Geneva, 2000) 207–8 well explains the name as 'Speaker'.

[91] For Empedocles see most recently A. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 2003) 104–17.

[92] Diphilus fr. 125 with Kassel and Austin; Parker, *Miasma*, 207f.

[93] A. Hupfloher, "The Woman Holding a Liver from Mantineia: Female Manteis and Beyond," in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arcadia* (Athens, 2005) 77–91.

[94] Pl. *Symp*. 201de, cf. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 43.

[95] Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 60, cf. D. Collins, "Theoris of Lemnos and the Criminalization of Magic in Fourth-Century Athens," *CQ* 51 (2001) 477–93.

a Hellenistic funerary stele from Thessalian Larissa has the laconic inscription 'Satyra *mantis*' (*SEG* 35.626). The mention of the father of a female *mantis* in a catalogue of civil officials of early Roman Sparta, 'Alkibia, daughter of Teisamenos' (*IG* V 1.141) may well be significant, as Teisamenos was an Iamid seer who came from Elis, the region of Olympia. The Spartans were so impressed by his mantic skills that during the Persian invasion they tried to contract him. Teisamenos was a skillful businessman and stipulated that he would only serve the Spartans on the condition that they would give him full civic rights, an exceptional case in Sparta. When the Spartans initially refused but later consented, he went for more and required the same rights for his brother Hagias.[96] With the Persians approaching quickly, the Spartans had to give in, and with Teisamenos as *mantis* they defeated Mardonius at Plataeae.[97] Given that Teisamenos was the name of such a famous Spartan seer, Alkibia's father almost certainly was a *mantis* too.[98] Last but not least, the new Posidippus has also given us a female *mantis*:

> To acquire a servant the best bird of omen is the grey heron,
> which the *mantis* Asterie summons to her sacrifices.
> Trusting it Hieron acquired for the country
> a carer with lucky foot, and another for the house (26 AB, tr. Austin, adapted).

New discoveries, then, have enlarged our picture of the female *mantis*, but they do not show them to have been travelers like their famous male counterparts.

After this gender excursus, let us conclude with a brief comparison of the prophet Balaam with the mythological seers Mopsus and Melampous. It is clear that there is a Wittgensteinian family resemblance between the early Greek and Aramaic/Israelite seers rather than a close similarity. Both were predictors of the future, healers of the sick, and connected with political power, but the Greek seers were of a higher class and technicians rather than visionaries. However, the special

[96] For the brothers Teisamenos and Hagias see Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar*, 183–4.

[97] Hdt. 9.33–6, cf. Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 42, who makes him into a Melampodid. For the problem of Teisamenos' family background see most recently A. Schachter, "The seer Tisamenus and the Klytiadai," *CQ* 50 (2000) 292–95.

[98] Kett, *Prosopographie*, 92, with other testimonia on the Iamids in Roman times.

powers of these seers made them attractive to wide sections of society near and far. That is why in both cases we see them wandering and travelling through the Mediterranean and the Near East. Real talent, be it mantic or scholarly, knows no political boundaries.[99]

[99] This contribution profited from audiences at the University of Groningen and Emory University, Atlanta, and from comments by Annemarie Ambühl, Sandra Blakely, Douglas Cairns and Bob Fowler.

CHAPTER NINE

HEBREW *LISHKAH* AND GREEK *LESCHÊ*

In the last decade, virtually at the same time and independent from one another, both Walter Burkert and Richard Buxton have again drawn attention to the institution of the *leschê*. The term has an elusive etymology, but at the end of the nineteenth century the great William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) noted the resemblance between *leschê* and Hebrew *liškah*.[1] Burkert concentrated on possible Near Eastern connections of *leschê*, to which we will return momentarily, whereas Buxton focussed on the performance of myths and stories in the *leschê*.[2] He concluded that 'it is safest to regard the *leschê* as something about which we know tantalisingly little—but that little suggests there are interesting things which escape us. What we do know is that the *leschê* was a context within which itinerant singers, like Homer in the *Life*, could find an audience.'[3] As neither of them has analysed all the material available, I would like to investigate the *leschê* once again. I will argue against Burkert that the institution had fewer religious roots than he suggests, and against Buxton that we know more about the *leschê* than he supposes, but less about its connection with singers than he thinks.

There are of course several ways of approaching the problem. As the *leschê* is better attested in Greece than the *lishkah* in ancient Israel, it may be rewarding to take our point of departure in Greece. Moreover, as the institution is of considerable antiquity and probably reaches back into Mycenaean times, we will start in that period. A fresh investigation of the archaic Greek calendar has demonstrated that Greek society of the late Mycenaean era was divided into three areas, each with a different

[1] W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (Edinburgh, 1894[2]) 254 note 6.

[2] W. Burkert, "Lescha-Liškah. Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland," in B. Janowski *et al*. (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1993) 19–38, reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 135–53; R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994) 40–4. From the older studies the best still is E. Bourguet, "Lesche," in Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III.2 (Paris, 1904) 1103–7.

[3] Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 43f.

calendar and its own dialect: the West Greeks (the later Thessalians, Phocians, Boeotians, Dorians and Lesbians, amongst others), the later Ionians and the later Arcado-Cypriots.[4] As the first group provides the best information, we will start with them, beginning with the Thessalians, the most Northern group of the 'West Greeks' to provide some information about the *leschê*.

Admittedly, we do not find any mention of the *leschê* itself among the Thessalians, but we can deduce its (former?) existence from the fact that they had a month Leschanorios.[5] The same month can be found on Crete in an unknown fourth-century city (*IC* II.xxx.1, 4) and in second-century Gortyn (*IC* IV.181, 17 and 26),[6] and its corresponding festival will therefore almost certainly have been a Mycenean inheritance.[7] Originally, *Leschanôr, 'having men in the *leschê*, *leschai*', seems to have been the name of a divine patron of the *leschê*. The existence of such a patron can probably also be deduced from the Arcadian month name Leschanasios of Tegea (*IG* V 2.3, 29), which looks like the Arcadian variant of the Thessalian month name and presumes a festival *Leschanasia. Trümpy explains the name as a festival celebrated in honour of *Leschanax, 'Ruler of the *leschê*', but normal Greek word formation would have given Leschanaxios or Leschanaktios and the name must be considered to be still unexplained.[8] This month, too, almost certainly reaches back to the Mycenaean era, just like another Arcadian month name, Lapatos, is already attested in Linear B. We might even guess its place in the Mycenaean calendars. Chaniotis has observed that in Gortyn the month must have marked an important moment in the year and he suspects it to have been the first month of the second half of the year. And indeed, this is exactly the same position of the spring month Leschanorios in the Thessalian calendar.[9]

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[4] C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1997) 286–9.

[5] *IG* IX 2. 207c, 340a–1, 349c, 546, 960–1 etc.

[6] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 143, also assigns the month to Achaia Phthiotis, but our only testimony, a *Freilassungsurkunde* from Thebes, uses Thessalian month names and does not correspond with what we know of the Theban calendar, cf. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen*, 239.

[7] Thus, persuasively, Trümpy, *Untersuchungen*, 256. K. Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 2002) 152 suggests a Spartan origin, but the month is not attested in Sparta.

[8] *Contra* Trümpy, *Untersuchungen*, 254.

[9] A. Chaniotis, "Bemerkungen zum Kalender kretischer Städte in hellenistischer Zeit," *Tekmeria* 2 (1997) 16–41 at 24 (I thank the author for kindly sending me a copy

As the related name Leschanoridas is attested only in fourth-century Tenedos (*VDI* 1974.1, 94) and fourth/third-century Chersonnesus (*SEG* 36.697), areas with a 'West Greek' population, it seems reasonable to assign Apollo Leschanorios, who is mentioned in some literary sources, to a 'West Greek' area too.[10]

We have perhaps an indication of what happened in Thessalian *leschai* through a fifth-century dedication to Apollo Leschaios by a certain Aristion and his fellow *daphnêphoroi* in the context of the Delphic enneaeteric festival Septerion. The group made its dedication in the Deipnias area on the border of Larissa's territory during their procession from Tempe to Delphi in commemoration of Apollo's legendary procession after he had killed the dragon Python.[11] This was the occasion on which the *daphnêphoroi* broke their fast for the first time—hence the name Deipnias—and Bruno Helly has attractively connected the epithet of the god with meals in a *leschê* by comparing the information that common meals were actually called *leschai* in Boiotia.[12] However this may be, in Thessaly we do find a fifth-century Leschos (*IG* II/III^2 1956) and a third-century Leschinas (*IG* IX 2.517, 57), names which surely confirm the one-time existence of Thessalian *leschai*.

In fact, meals were important in other *leschai* too. An interesting example is the treasury of the Knidians in Delphi, which was famous for its paintings by Polygnotus.[13] It is regularly overlooked in discussions of the *leschê* that it was not the Knidians but the Delphians who called this sumptuous building a *leschê*. This is made clear by Pausanias, who

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of his article); Trümpy, *Untersuchungen*, 216 (Thessalian calendar), who, at p. 189, is unnecessarily sceptical about its spring position in Crete.

[10] Cleanthes *SVF* I.123, 33; Cornutus 32 (with an improbable explanation); Plut. *M* 385c.

[11] Pind. fr. 249a, *Pae*. X(a), cf. I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (Oxford, 2001) 200–5; Hdt. 6.34.2; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 31b; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 80; Call. fr. 86–9, 194.34–6; *IG* IX 2.1234; Plut. *M* 293c, 417e–418d, 1136a; Ael. *VH* 3.1; schol. Pind. *P* pp. 4.11–4; more recently, A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome, 1969) 387–438; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983) 127–30.

[12] *IG* IX 2.1027, cf. B. Helly, "Le 'Dotion pedion,' Lakéreia et les origines de Larisa," *J. des Savants* 1987, 127–58 at 141–2, who compares *Et. magnum* 561 = *Et. Gud.* λ 366: Λέσχαι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς τὰ κοινὰ δειπνητήρια; for Boiotian common meals note also Pl. *Leg.* 636b; Polyaenus 2.3.11.

[13] See most recently R.B. Kebric, *The paintings in the Cnidian lesche at Delphi and their historical context* (Leiden, 1983); M. Stansbury-O'Donnell, "Polygnotos's Iliupersos. A new reconstruction," *Am. J. Arch.* 93 (1989) 203–15; C. Cousin, "Composition, espace et paysage dans les peintures de Polygnote à la lesché de Delphes," *Gaia* (Grenoble) 4 (2000) 61–103; J.H. Oakley, "Polygnotos," in *Der Neue Pauly* X (2001) 58–59.

provides a valuable testimony to the existence of the *leschê* in Phocis by relating:

> It is called by the Delphians *leschê*, because in former times they used to meet there to discuss matters which were more serious and those which were *mythôdê* (10.25.1).

The architecture of the Knidian building strongly suggests that it was used as a dining hall.[14] On the other hand, its importance for discussion is confirmed by the fact that it was in this building that Plutarch (*M.* 412c) situated his dialogue on the decline of oracles. Several later sources indeed mention the *leschê* as a place for philosophical disputations,[15] and that is undoubtedly the reason why Heraclides Ponticus Junior called his book on philosophical problems *Leschai*.[16] This meaning continued that of 'serious discussion, council', which we already find in Herodotus (2.32, 9.71) and which must also be its meaning in Callimachus' moving epigram for his friend Heraclitus where he remembers how often "the two of us made the sun go down in the *leschê*".[17] In fact, discussion must have been the most striking element of the earlier *leschê*, although the Greeks in general clearly were not greatly impressed by the quality of the arguments offered. It is hard to think of any other place where people spoke in public that has generated so many words connected with 'quibbling', 'vaunting' or 'talking rubbish', right down to the insulting *kusoleschês* (*PCG* Adespota, fr. 186).[18]

Plutarch also mentions another aspect of the *leschê*. When they entered the building, they saw their friends already sitting and waiting for them. It is rather striking that the friends sat at a table and were not reclining, as was usual at a symposium. And indeed, whenever any detail is given

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[14] J. Pouilloux, *Fouilles de Delphes II. La région Nord du sanctuaire* (Paris, 1960) 120–39; R.A. Tomlinson, "Two Notes on Possible *Hestiatoria*," *Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens* 75 (1980) 221–8 at 224–8; M. Maass, *Das antike Delphi* (Darmstadt, 1993) 178–80.

[15] Plut. *M* 385c; Hierocles fr. 2; Athenaeus 5.192a; Photius λ 210 with Theodoridis; Apost. 10.59.

[16] Heraclides *SH* 475–80.

[17] Call. *Ep*. 2; add to Pfeiffer's testimonia: Apost. 17.97; E. Merli, "*Helion en lesche katedysamen*. Sulla tradizione latina di un motivo callimacheo," *Maia* 49 (1997) 385–90.

[18] I collect here the relevant verbs (without their corresponding nouns and adjectives), nouns and adjectives: (κατ)ἀδολεσχέω, ἀερολέσχης, ἔλλεσχος, ἐννομολέσχης, ἐρίλεσχος (Parthenius fr. 22 with Lightfoot *ad loc.*), ἰσχνολέσχης (not in LSJ: Suda ε 2613), λεσχάζω, λεσχαίνω, λεσχήν, λεσχήνευμον (not in LSJ: *IC* II.v.4) (προ)λεσχηνεύω, ληρολεσχέω (not in LSJ: Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu*. 291a, 331, 358), λογολεσχέω, μεταρσιολεσχέω, μετεωρολεσχέω, ὀνειρολεσχία, οὐρανολέσχαι (not in LSJ: Eust. on *Od*. 1.419), περιλεσχήνευτος, πλατυλέσχης, πρόλεσχος, στενολεσχέω, χρησμολέσχης.

it is invariably said that people are *sitting* in *leschai*.[19] Now seated dining was still the rule in Homer,[20] and Aeschylus 'Homerizes' the cannibalism of Thyestes by letting him eat his children while seated.[21] Sitting was also customary among the Macedonians (Curtius 8.6.5), Thracians (Xen. *Anab*. 7.3.21; Athenaeus 4.151a), Illyrians (Theopompos *FGH* 115 F 39), Celts,[22] ancient Romans,[23] and early Egyptians (Athenaeus 5.191f). As among these more 'barbarian' peoples, the custom had also been preserved in conservative Crete and backwards Arcadia.[24] In Athens, sitting had maintained itself not only at the festival of the Anthesteria,[25] but also in the *tholos* in the Agora where the *prytaneis* took their meal sitting. In fact, archaeology has uncovered a number of round buildings in sanctuaries where dining clearly took place sitting and not reclining.[26] Evidently, the *leschê*, too, had preserved the earlier 'Homeric' position.

Food must also have been an important item of the *leschai* in Sparta, since according to Cratinus (fr. 175) the Spartan *leschê* was a kind of *Schlaraffenland* where sausages were nailed to the walls. It is true that the Spartan standard diet was extremely frugal and even sacrifices, the usual providers of meat in antiquity, small and cheap,[27] but the produce of the hunt could be brought as a desert to the mess where, in order to strengthen the competitive spirit, the names of the contributors were

[19] Hes. *Op*. 501; *PCG* Adespota, fr. *823 (with all paroemiographical references); *Vita Homeri* 12, 15; Plut. *Lyc*. 16.1, *M* 412d; Ael. *VH* 2.34; Procop. *Goth*. 7.32.9.4; *Et. Gudianum* α 23, λ 308.

[20] *Il*. IX.199ff., XXIV.126, 457ff.; *Od*. 1.130ff., 3.32 and 472, 4.238, 7.203, 17.478, 20.136.

[21] Aesch. *Ag*. 1594–5, with a characteristically learned note by Eduard Fraenkel.

[22] Posidonius fr. 169.28, 170.

[23] Varro *apud* Servius, *Aen*. 7.176; Isidorus, *Et*. 20.11.9; A. Rathje, "A Banquet Service from the Latin City of Ficana," *Anal. Rom*. 12 (1983) 7–29 at 23f.

[24] Crete: Pyrgion *FGH* 467 F 1; Heraclides Lembus fr. 15; Cic. *Pro Murena*, 35. Arcadia: Athen. 4.148f–149d.

[25] For the Anthesteria see most recently Burkert, *Homo necans*, 213–47; A. Bowie, *Aristophanes: myth, ritual, and comedy* (Cambridge, 1993) 35–9, 146–50; Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999²) 46–50; S.C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* (Oxford, 2004) 223–75; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 290–316.

[26] F. Cooper and S. Morris, "Dining in Round Buildings," in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica* (Oxford, 1990) 66–85; R. Hoensch, "Amtslokal und Staatlichkeit in den griechischen Poleis," *Hermes* 131 (2003) 172–95 at 186–8.

[27] Frugal diet: Hdt. 9.82; Ar. *Av*. 1281–2, *Lys*. 279; Antiphanes fr. 46; Diphilus fr. 96; Xen. *Lac*. 2.5–6, 5.3. Sacrifice: Pl. *Alc*. 2.149A; Plut. *Lyc*. 19.8.

announced publicly.[28] Cratinus, then, will certainly have overdone his picture, but he can hardly have been totally off the mark.

Pausanias mentions two specific *leschai* in Sparta. The *leschê* of the (otherwise unknown) Crotani near the tombs of the royal dynasty of the Agiadae (3.14.2) and the *Poikilê* near the heroa of the family of the Aegeids (3.15.8). It is difficult to deduce the function of these *leschai* from Pausanias' sparse notices, but they seem to have belonged to aristocratic families. Burkert suggests that they might have been connected with the aristocratic 'Toten- bzw. Heroenkult',[29] but similar 'club houses' are attested elsewhere. Already in the early 1930s, Louis Gernet had compared these Spartan *leschai* to other houses of groups of men, such as the shrine of mystery rites (*telestêrion*) that Themistocles had rebuilt for his clan, the Lykomids, in Phlya after the Persian invasion. Pausanias calls the building a *klision* and reports that the Lykomids chanted songs of Orpheus and a hymn to Demeter at their ceremonies.[30] Similar buildings are the *megara* of the Kouretes in Messene (Paus. 4.31.9), of the Meliastai in Mantinea (Paus. 8.6.5) and of the mystery cult of Despoina in Lycosoura (Paus. 8.37.8). Gernet persuasively pointed to the initiatory function of the Kouretes,[31] which also fits the 'wolfish' name of the Lykomids,[32] and compared the *leschê* to a so-called 'men's house', a comparison we will come back to in a moment.[33]

In any case, neither of these aristocratic *leschai* seems to have been the *leschê* where the members of a phyle had to bring a new born child in order to have it accepted into the community. Plutarch (*Lyc*. 16.1) relates that the investigation of the child was conducted by the "eldest

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[28] Xen. *Lac*. 4.7; O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, 2 vols (Paris, 1990) II.537 (on the name Therikyon).

[29] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 140.

[30] Lykomids: Simonides *PMG* 627; Plut. *Vit. Them*. 1; Paus. 1.22.7, 4.1.5–9, 9.27.2 and 30.12; Hsch. λ 1391; *IG* II² 2670, 3559; note also Hippol. *Ref*. 5.20.4–6 on the celebration of mysteries at Phlya.

[31] For their background in initiation see most recently B. Legras, "Mallokouria et mallocourètes. Un rite de passage dans l'Égypte romaine," *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993) 113–27; F. Graf, "Ephesische und andere Kureten," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1999) 255–62.

[32] For wolves and initiation see Bremmer "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal," in idem (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice* (Leuven, 2007) 55–79 at 65–78.

[33] L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion*, 1932[1] (Paris, 1970), 72; J. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1911) 27 note 3 had already made the same suggestion regarding the Kouretes. For some of these, often underground, houses, see also L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* II (Amsterdam, 1969) 1005–7.

of the members of the *phylê*", and his notice implies that in earlier times a *leschê* must have occupied an important position in a phyle in conservative Sparta.

The presence of old men in Spartan *leschai* is already mentioned by Cratinus (fr. 175), and the antiquity of this element of the *leschê* is confirmed by Sophocles, who in his *Antigone* (160) speaks of a "specially convoked *leschê* of elders". In these passages the old still clearly seem to have a certain political clout. This is certainly no longer the case in the *Life of Homer* (12) where the poet sits down "in the *leschai* of the old men" or in an anecdote about Epicharmus who "in extreme old age" sits in a *leschê* "with some of his contemporaries" droning on about their limited life expectancy (Ael. *VH* 2.34 = Epicharmus T 16).[34]

We have a few other other testimonies about *leschai* in Dorian areas. If the anecdote about Epicharmus has any connection with historical reality, it might point to a *leschê* in his town, Syracuse, but its existence in Megara seems to be more likely. The city knew common meals and Theognis uses the *hapax leschazô*, the seemingly earliest example of a verb connected with *leschê* with the meaning 'talking rubbish'.[35] We move onto firmer ground in Kos where *ca.* 300 BC a certain Diomedon forbids "to use the *leschê* in the sanctuary as a store room"; this *leschê* may have been a dining room gone out of use.[36] However, the oldest mention in Dorian areas occurs in Rhodian Kamiros where an archaic inscription says: "I am the *lescha* of Euthytidas, son of Praxiodos, son of Euphagos, son of Euphylidas". As in the Spartan cases, Burkert suggests that we may have here a dining hall in a funerary context,[37] but the meaning 'grave' is attested in a late Pisidian inscription from Termessos (*TAM* III.187) and seems therefore more attractive. We also note a Leschaios on fourth-century Rhodes (*SEG* 12.360.II), which seems to point to worship of Apollo Leschaios on the island. The latest Dorian example is the first-century (BC) 'Leschis, son of Ammon' from Cyrenaica with the typically local ending *-is*,[38] but we do not know if there once had been a real *leschê* in the Pentapolis as background to this name.

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[34] Note also *IC* II.v.51, 2, a fragmentary Cretan grave epigram of the early Empire: ἐρίσαμα [γ]ερόντων λεσχήνευμ' ἁλίας παιδὶ.

[35] Theognis 309 (meals), 613 (verb).

[36] M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols (Rome, 1993) I.ED 149, 84–5 (replacing earlier editions).

[37] *SEG* 26.867 (with bibliography); Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 140; J.P. Brown, *Israel and Hellas* I (Berlin and New York, 1995) 140f.

[38] *SEG* 26.1839.17, cf. Masson, *Onomastica*, I.249.

Our final testimonies for *leschai* among the 'West Greeks' derive from the Aeolians. The pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* (12, 13) represents Homer performing in the *leschai* in Cyme, and from the third century BC onwards several sources mention a certain Lesches of Lesbos (T 1–6 B = T 3–7 D) as the author of the *Ilias Parva* who, according to Phanias of Lesbos (fr. 33), lived before Terpander. Unfortunately, the basis for his chronology is hard to see, and one cannot but suspect educated guesswork.

As the Tegean month name Leschanasios (above) is the only testimony for possible *leschai* among Arcado-Cypriots, we proceed to the Attic-Ionian area. In Athens there must have been several *leschai*. A fifth-century *horos*-stone marks off 'public *leschai*' (*IG* I^3 1102), and such boundary stones may well have been a subject in Antiphon's 'On Boundaries' against Nikokles, which mentioned *leschai* (Harpocr. s.v. *leschai*). Two other fourth-century *horos*-stones were found between the Areopagus and the Pnyx in the deme of Melite (*IG* II^2 2620a, b). Finally, a fourth-century inscription from Aixone stipulates that details of a leasing contract should be inscribed on two stelai and set up both in the temple of Hebe and in the *leschê*, presumably of the deme (*IG* II^2 2492, 23). The last clause is particularly interesting, as it shows that this *leschê* still performed an official function in the deme. The *leschai* perhaps continued to have 'political' force as a parallel institution to the deme-assembly for discussion of common affairs, like social events in the community hall and church alongside formal town meetings. Perhaps it was the combination of such *leschai* with the tradition of 360 *genê* in Athens that led to the idea of 360 *leschai* in Athens that we can read in the scholia on Hesiod's *Works* (491).[39]

As the tragedians use the term to denote skilful talking, conversation, social company or council,[40] we may safely deduce these activities as those practised in the *leschê*. Moreover, there also seems to have been a kind of social code, as was the case at the symposium, since according to the fourth-century comedy playwright Epicrates it was not fitting to make insulting gestures in the *leschê*.[41] In any case, the *leschê* was already

[39] A. Oikonomides, "Resting sites" (Λέσχαι) in Ancient Athens and Attica," *Anc. World* 16 (1987) 29–34 goes too far in identifying all kinds of places as *leschai*.

[40] Aesch. *Cho*. 665, *Eum*. 365; Soph. *Ant*. 160, *OC* 167; Eur. *Hipp*. 384, *IA* 1001, fr. 473.

[41] Epicrates fr. 10, 29–31, but the text is somewhat corrupt.

early on notorious in Athens for its discussions without end, since it was proverbial to say "I break up the *leschai*" when it was time for work.[42]

Moving from Athens to Euboea we notice the *Akmaiôn leschê*, the 'Young Men's *Leschê*' near Chalcis. The notice in Plutarch's *Greek Questions* (298d) relates that the place received its name from the protection given by young men in the prime of their youth to a suppliant. Unfortunately, the time when this happened is not specified, but the tradition seems to imply that among the Chalcidians the *leschê* once was a reputable institution. This suggestion is perhaps supported by the occurrence of a Lescheus in fourth-century Eretria (*IG* XII 9.191B, 29 and 245B, 381).

Our oldest testimony in Ionia undoubtedly derives from the *Odyssey*, where Melantho reviles Odysseus: 'And you are unwilling to go to a smithy to sleep or to a *leschê*, but you talk too much here [sc. in the palace of Odysseus]' (18.328–9, tr. Buxton). The passage is elaborated upon by Hesiod (*Op*. 493–501),[43] who adds that the *leschê* is warm in winter, which perhaps is additional information regarding the *leschai* in Boiotia, where in fifth-century Thespiae we also find a Lesschon (*IG* VII.1888–9, 5). Melantho's words already suggest that idle talk was a favourite pastime in the *leschê*, and this surely is confirmed by Heraclitus' use of the verb *leschêneuomai* (B 5). Finally, in addition to Cyme, the *Life of Homer* (15) also represents the poet as performing in the *leschê* of Phocaea. That is all that we seem to be able to say about the *leschai* of the Ionians.[44]

Let us now try to draw some conclusions about the nature and history of the *leschê*. It seems almost certain that the *leschê* was an institution already existing in Mycenean times; in fact, both the position of Leschanorios/Leschanasios in the calendar and the existence of the divine patron seem to point to an important position of the *leschê* in Mycenean times. Among the 'West Greeks' the patronage was taken over by Apollo Leschanorios/Leschaios, who has not been found among the Ionians. This absence fits Apollo's absence from the Ionian *Urkalender* and is one more argument for this god being a 'West Greek'

[42] Eupolis fr. 192.156; Plato fr. 244.

[43] Note that this passage probably inspired Ausonius, *Ep*. 6.23, where in a macaronic masterpiece *leschê* probably means 'existence', cf. R. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford, 1991) 615f.

[44] For *leschê* as a building note also Pollux 9.49 and, perhaps, *POxy*. 46.3239.I.10.

creation.[45] Apollo's connection with the coming of a new season or year, with initiation and with the assembly of the people (the Dorian *Apellai* that perhaps has given him his name) makes it probable that the *leschai*, in their days of political importance, were (one of?) the places where the old men admitted the young men to the ranks of the adults, once a year.[46]

The early function of the Greek *leschê* can only be approximately reconstructed, but its still visible connection with both a Spartan phyle and an Athenian deme as well as the prominence of the elder males suggests that in the last centuries of the second millennium and in the first centuries of the first millennium BC the *leschê* functioned as a kind of meeting house of the youths of the community (Chalcis) or the most important males of the community, who also took their communal meals there, just as they would do, for example, in the Athenian *prytanikon*. The fact that people did not recline but remained sitting in the *leschê* is an important indication for its origin in a more distant time.

At the same time, the building could apparently also function as a guest house for passing strangers. Burkert has well compared the information by the Cretan *Lokalhistoriker* Dosiadas (*FGH* 458 F 2) that in every Cretan polis there were two buildings. The first was the men's house (*andreion*) where the communal meals were taken but also tables for guests were present, whereas the second was a *koimêtêrion*, a guest house.[47] In other words, Crete had divided into two buildings what in earlier times or in other places had been only one.

Exactly a century ago (from the time of my writing) an *Assistent* in the Bremen Museum für Völker- und Handelskunde, Heinrich Schurtz (1863–1903), had already noted the importance of the *leschê* for the community and interpreted it as the men's house of 'primitive' peoples.[48] In the spirit of his time, Schurtz put the men's house in an evolutionistic context and applied the notion to a whole range of buildings, ranging from the house of the unmarried youths of a community to the place where the elders came together to discuss matters of communal interest

[45] Trümpy, *Untersuchungen*, 32–3, referring to W. Burkert, "Apellai und Apollon," *RhM* 118 (1975) 1–21.

[46] For these aspects of Apollo see H.S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden, 1993) 289–334.

[47] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 142–3. For the *andreion* see M. Laurencic, "*Andreion*," *Tyche* 3 (1988) 147–61; S. Link, *Das griechische Kreta* (Stuttgart, 1994) 9–21.

[48] H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902) 313, 331. Schurtz was accepted by Brelich, *Paides*, 424 note 69, who in turn is accepted by Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, 42, but he seems to have been overlooked by Burkert.

and with many forms in between; it was also in this house that strangers normally stayed the night.[49] As we just saw, Gernet had reached the same conclusion and as a convinced Durkheimian he had undoubtedly already read Schurtz; elsewhere in his oeuvre he points out that in his interpretation of the Spartan *syssitia* as 'men's houses' Schurtz had been pre-empted by Bachofen in his *Mutterrecht*.[50] Although we may have some qualms about the theoretical framework of Schurtz and although the scarcity of early sources hardly allows us any certainty,[51] his suggestion is very attractive given the ubiquitous worldwide presence of the men's house on earth, which has left traces even in Europe.[52]

It is clear that already at an early stage the *leschê* had lost most of its political importance. It still remained, though, the place *par excellence* for old men to muse about things past and present. At one time, discussions must have been almost without end and this evidently became less and less acceptable after the birth of the symposium and the development of different political institutions, such as the assembly. This process of decline probably took place at different speeds in different communities, but must already have been fairly advanced in the fifth century BC. That is why *leschê* also acquired the meanings 'conversation', 'small talk', *causerie*, telling of big stories (below) etc.[53] It is therefore understandable that the *leschê* virtually stopped being productive in an onomastical respect in the third century BC; the only exceptions are the early second-century Pergamene poet Leschides, whose origin is unfortunately unknown,[54] and the example from the outlying corner

[49] Schurtz, *Altersklassen*, 209. Note that *klision*, Pausanias' term for the 'men's house' of the Lykomids, can also mean 'inn': Hsch. κ 3017.

[50] L. Gernet, *Les grecs sans miracle* (Paris, 1983) 120; H. Usener, *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Leipzig, 1907) 122 (1903[1]) mentions Schurtz in his discussion of the ephebes, but saw the book too late to incorporate it properly.

[51] See the critique by E. Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen im Mikronesien* (The Hague, 1953) 177–95; for a debatable explanation of the interest in men's societies at Schurtz's time see K. von See, *Barbar Germane Arier* (Heidelberg, 1994) 319–42.

[52] Schurtz, *Altersklassen*, 312–7; R. Wolfram, "Zur Frage des Männerhauses in Europa," in *Actes du IV[e] Congrès Intern. des Sciences Anthropol. et Ethnol.*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1954–56) III.74f.

[53] Note its occurrence as *causerie* in Cic. *Att.* 6.5.1, 12.1. For Cicero's use of Greek in his letters to Atticus see S. Swain, "Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching," in J.N. Adams *et al.* (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society* (Oxford, 2002) 128–67 at 146–62.

[54] For Leschides see Suda λ 311 = *FGrH* 172 T 1 = *SH* 503, cf. A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton, 1995) 282f. Lloyd-Jones/Parsons have overlooked his mention in Sudα κ 2395.

of the Libyan Pentapolis (above). It returned to onomastic favour only in the first century AD, but now as a woman's name ('Miss Gossip'?).[55] Can there be a clearer sign that this once important male institution had lost all of its former significance?

There is one final testimony on the *leschê* which we have left until this moment, since its value is hard to evaluate: its already noted possible connection to Hebrew *liškah*, the oldest mention of which occurs in *1 Samuel* (9.19–22). When Saul has met Samuel, the latter invites him to a 'high place'. There he brought Saul and his servant "into the *liškah*, and made them sit in the chiefest place among those that had been invited, which were about thirty men". Burkert reasonably suggests that the *liškah* is here a building where people dine from sacrifice,[56] even though our text is silent about any religious ritual. After the religious centralisation in Jerusalem by Solomon the *liškah* is found mainly connected with the Temple, although, strangely enough, it does not occur in the chapters on the building of Salomo's temple (*1 Kings* 6–7). In the later books of the Old Testament, it is a Temple hall where people drink (*Jeremiah* 35.4) or priests eat (*Ezekiel* 42.13), but which can also serve as a Temple storeroom for valuables (*Ezra* 8.29) or as the office of a scribe in the royal palace (*Jeremiah* 36.12, 20). Apparently, the main resemblance between *leschê* and *liškah* is that both were buildings where one could dine, and Palestinian archeological evidence seems to suggest that this dining in Israel too happened on benches. The Hebrew material, then, is a welcome confirmation of our observation that the *leschê* was also a dining hall,[57] and the more welcome, since the term *liškah* must have existed already in the first centuries of the first millennium BC, given its occurrence in *1 Samuel* and in an, admittedly damaged, Punic inscription.[58]

The idea of a connection between *leschê* and *liškah*, as suggested by William Robertson Smith, was virtually immediately accepted by the ancient historian Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) and the Indo-Europeanist Otto Schrader (1855–1919), who both suggested that an Anatolian lan-

[55] H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, 3 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2003²) III.1254, 1401.

[56] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 137–8.

[57] The best discussion is D. Kellermann, "*liškâh*," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* 4 (1984) 606–11 (benches: 607).

[58] J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995) I.576 s.v. *lyškh*.

guage stood at the cradle of the Greek and Hebrew terms.[59] Although this view has not been totally abandoned by post-war linguists,[60] it has been rejected by the majority of them, who now opt for a Greek etymology of *leschê* and connect the term with the root *λεχ.[61] Burkert goes along with this majority and looks for connections with the Mycenaean festival Lechestroterion and the Roman *lectisternium*,[62] but nothing in our later sources points into that particular ritual direction. As 'lying' was hardly the most prominent feature of the *leschê* (above), and *liškâh* stands isolated in North West Semitic,[63] its Anatolian origin still seems attractive, even though a later import from Greece does not seem totally impossible, given the presence of Greek pottery and mercenaries in Palestine in the period 1000–600 BC.[64] As the Greek and Israelite functions of the *leschê/liškâh* were clearly different, the original meaning of the Anatolian verbal ancestor—if the *leschê/liškâh* did indeed derive from Anatolia—may well have been a specific shape of building.

Having now acquired a relatively clear picture of what the *leschê* was in the course of time, we can finally attack the problem posed by the few passages that connect the *leschê* with the telling of myth: Pausanias on the Delphian *leschê* and the mention in the *Life of Homer*. From these, the latter is assigned by Wilamowitz to the period 130–80 BC, but other students of the *Life* are inclined to date it to the first centuries AD.[65]

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[59] E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 (Stuttgart, 1909²) 627; O. Schrader, "Aus griechischer Frühzeit," *Mitt. Schlesischen Ges. f. Volksk.* 13–14 (1911) 464–78 at 469.

[60] Their suggestion is still accepted by E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen: mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus* (Leiden, 1972) 257, who in note 36 also points to a non-Indo-European suffix -αρο-/α and compares λεσχάρα (*Et. Gen.* s.v. Λεσχάραι Alpers).

[61] See the etymological dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine.

[62] *Lechestroterion*: PY Fr 343+1217. *Lectisternium*: see the bibliography in M. Beard *et al.*, *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1998) I.63 note 195.

[63] Kellermann, "*liškâh*"; M.L. West, *The East Face of Helikon* (Oxford, 1997) 38 (who also rejects a Greek etymology, but favours an origin from the Near East).

[64] See the surveys by R. Wenning, "Griechische Söldner in Palästina," in U. Höckmann and D. Kreikenbom (eds.), *Naukratis: die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit* (Möhnesee, 2001) 257–68 and "Griechischer Einfluss auf Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit?," in S. Alkier and M. Witte (eds.), *Die Griechen und das antike Israel* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 2004) 29–72.

[65] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1916) 414–6; W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I.1 (Munich, 1929) 84 note 7. For English translations see M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London, 1981) 139–55; M.L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 2003) 354–403 (with the best modern edition).

In any case, the *Life* hardly contains old traditions, and it seems better to see the reference to Homer's performance in the *leschê* of Cyme as a narratological device to stress the poet's poor position before people try to have him accepted by the town's *boulê*, 'senate', which dismally fails in this unique opportunity for eternal fame. In other communities, too, Homer has to put up with positions hardly befitting his poetical pre-eminence, such as being kept by a schoolmaster in Phocaea (15), being hosted by a goat herd in Pitys (21), being a tutor to a Chian (24), being schoolmaster in Chios (25) etc. In other words, the passage can hardly be adduced in support of a one-time place where itinerant poets performed their myths.

Pausanias' reference is more persuasive. He clearly opposes "matters which were more serious" to "those which were *mythôdês*", which has here the meaning 'fictitious', 'fabulous', 'over the top', but not the meaning 'serious myth'. The same meaning we find, for example in Plutarch and Lucian;[66] the meaning is also reflected in Apuleius' reference to the *fabulam Graecanicam* in the Prologue of his *Metamorphoses*. In these authors, *mythos* "in the conventional rhetorical division of narrative, denotes the category of untrue-and-unlike-the-truth", a meaning that can be found widely after Aristotle.[67] Pausanias, then, is a rather important testimony that some kind of untrue narrative with entertainment value was told in the *leschê*; surely the Greeks must have also told myths among their entertaining tales to pass the time. We find a similar connection between *leschê* and *mythos* in two entries in Hesychius λ 703–4 where we read: λεσχηνεῖ· [...] μυθολογεῖ and λεσχηνευθέντα· μυθολογηθέντα. Evidently, these references imply the same association between the *leschê* and the telling of 'tall' stories.

Finally, the latest connection between myth and the *leschê* is found in Eustathius, who in his commentary on *Iliad* IX.502–7 refers to the traditional stories about the gods as *mytholeschai*. In his edition, my compatriot Van der Valk tersely notes '*contemptum denotat*' and '*ex Eust.*

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[66] Plut. *Rom.* 25.4 μυθῶδές ἐστι, μᾶλλον δ" ὅλως ἄπιστον and *Sol.* 32.4 ἀπίθανος πανταπάσι; Lucian, *Verae Hist.* 1.2 τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη and *Philops.* 5.2 ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη; Philostr. *VA.* 5.1, *Her.* 7.9.

[67] Thus, on *mythos* in Ach. Tat. 1.2.3, J. Morgan, "The Prologues of the Greek Novels and Apuleius," in A. Kahane and A. Laird (eds.), *A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius"* Metamorphoses (Oxford, 2001) 152–62 at 155, who overlooked the best discussion of this meaning of *mythos*: R. Meijering, *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia* (Diss. Groningen, 1987) 72–90.

solo, ut videtur, est nota'.[68] With these examples we have exhausted our material. Much about the *leschê* still remains obscure, but one thing now seems pretty clear: the *leschê* was hardly the place for itinerant singers, but after its political heyday many a Greek may have listened there to myths, even though more in the spirit of entertainment than in that of a serious tale.[69]

[68] M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* II (Leiden, 1976) 775.

[69] For information and comments I would like to thank Rob Beekes, Richard Buxton, Bob Fowler and Ed Noort.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SCAPEGOAT BETWEEN NORTHERN SYRIA, HITTITES, ISRAELITES, GREEKS AND EARLY CHRISTIANS

In the Old Testament a curious purification ritual occurs, the final ceremony of which is described as follows:

> And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness (*Leviticus* 16, 21–22).

It is the escape of the goat that has given its name to a certain ritual complex: the (e)scapegoat ritual, whereas the German Reformer Martin Luther wanted to emphasize the transfer of sins and therefore introduced the word *Sündebock*, 'sin-goat', into the German language. Yet, in all probability, the Israelite ritual was not indigenous but derived eventually from Northern Syria. At the same time, we also find a clearly related ritual in ancient Greece. Moreover, there are strong indications that the ritual played a significant role in the development of the Christian doctrine of the atonement. That is why we will study its occurrence first in Northern Syria and among the Hittites (§ 1), then the Israelites (§ 2), the Greeks (§ 3), and will conclude with the early Christians (§ 4).[1]

[1] Note also its occurrence among the Romans and in ancient India. Romans: W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, 1979) 63–4, 170 (with older bibliography); M.A. Cavallaro, "Duride, i *Fasti Cap.* e la tradizione storiografica sulle *Devotiones* dei Decii," *Ann. Sc. Arch. Atene* 54 (1976 [1979] 261–316; H.S. Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice, Compensation, Anonymous Gods," in *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (1981) 135–94; L.F. Janssen, "Some Unexplored Aspects of the Decian *devotio*," *Mnemosyne* IV 34 (1981) 357–81. India: Burkert, *Structure and History*, 60.

1. *Northern Syria and the Hittites*

Recent findings suggest that the scapegoat ritual was already performed in North Syrian Ebla. Two texts from the archive of palace G, dating from the later third millennium BC, refer to the ritual in a narrative manner:

> (And) we purge the mausoleum.
> Before the entry (of the gods) Kura and Barama a goat,
> A silver bracelet (hanging from the) goat's neck,
> Towards the steppe of Alini we let her go.
>
> (And) we purge the mausoleum.
> A goat, a silver bracelet (hanging from the) goat's neck,
> before the entry (of the gods) Kura and Barama
> Towards the steppe of Alini we *enclose* (*her*).[2]

Both texts refer to the queen's wedding as well as to her and the king's enthronement, and to that end the mausoleum has to be purified.[3] We note that the medium of purification is a goat, which is adorned and sent towards the steppe.

About a millennium later two of these elements are found again in another North Syrian city, Ugarit. A clay model of a lung is inscribed with:

> If the city is about to be conquered, if death wickedly treats man,
> a person will take a goat in the steppe
> and send her out.[4]

The situation now is not one of pollution but rather a critical moment of life or death. Although the text gives no details, we may perhaps assume that the goat has to remove certain dangerous defilements to the steppe and away from the civilised world. On the other hand, this goat lacks the adornment of the Ebla and Hittite (below) scapegoats

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[2] P. Fronzaroli, *Testi rituali della regalità: (Archivio L.2769)* (Rome, 1993) 1 *v*. I 19—II 7, 2 *v*. I 7–21.

[3] P. Xella, "Il 'capro espiatorio' a Ebla. Sulle origini storiche di un antico rito mediterraneo," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 62 (1996) 677–84; I. Zatelli, "The Origin of the Biblical Scapegoat Ritual: The Evidence of Two Eblaite Texts," *Vetus Testamentum* 48 (1998) 254–63.

[4] M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits* I (Kevelaer, 1976) no. 1.127.29–31, cf. eidem, *Mantik in Ugarit: Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau, Omensammlungen, Nekromantie* (Münster, 1990) 17–38.

and does not seem to receive a special treatment. However, the absence of these aspects may be due to the special medium of its recording, and we should perhaps leave it at that.

In any case, these descriptions are still fairly rudimentary, and much more can be learned from detailed descriptions of Hittite rituals. Already in 1919, shortly after the decipherment of the Hittite language, attention was drawn to a scapegoat ritual. Various others have been noted since,[5] and we may adduce here as an example the prescription of Ashella, a man of Hapalla, which dates from the thirteenth century BC and reads as follows:

> When evening comes, whoever the army commanders are, each of them prepares a ram—whether it is a white ram or a black ram does not matter at all. Then I twine a cord of white wool, red wool, and green wool, and the officer twists it together, and I bring a necklace, a ring, and a chalcedony stone and I hang them on the ram's neck and horns, and at night they tie them in front of the tents and say: "Whatever deity is prowling about (?), whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now I have tied up these rams for you, be appeased!" And in the morning I drive them out to the plain, and with each ram they take 1 jug of beer, 1 loaf, and 1 cup of milk (?). Then in front of the king's tent he makes a finely dressed woman sit and puts with her a jar of beer and 3 loaves. Then the officers lay their hands on the rams and say: "Whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now see! These rams are standing here and they are very fat in liver, heart, and loins. Let human flesh be hateful to him, let him be appeased by these rams". And the officers point at the rams and the king points at the decorated woman, and the rams and the woman carry the loaves and the beer through the army and they chase them out to the plain. And they go running on to the enemy's frontier without coming to any place of ours, and the people say: "Look! Whatever illness there was among men, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys in this camp, these rams and this woman have carried it away from the camp. And the country that finds them shall take over this evil pestilence".[6]

When we compare this ritual with the two other Hittite ones that have been found, we can note the following particulars. First, in all three cases the cause of the ritual is pestilence. Secondly, this means

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[5] For these examples see O.R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977) 47–52; V. Haas, *Materia Magica et Medica Hethitica*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2003) I.434–8 and "Betrachtungen zur Traditionsgeschichte hethitischer Rituale am Beispiel des 'Sündenbock'-Motivs," in G. Beckman *et al.* (eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* (Winona Lake, 2003) 131–41.

[6] Gurney, *Some Aspects*, 49, also in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* II.2 (Gütersloh, 1987) 285–88 (H.M. Kümmel).

of course that the ritual is not tied to a specific place in the calendar, but is executed *ad hoc*. Thirdly, the means of transfer can be either an animal (a bull, ewe or ram) or a woman,[7] who presumably structurally resembles an animal in these particular rituals. Fourthly, the scapegoat is not sent off just like that, but in every case it is adorned: the animals receive earrings, a necklace and strings of coloured wool, whereas the woman is finely dressed. This adornment differentiates the ritual from a normal *apopompê*, which is also attested for the Hittite tradition and which simply removes a defilement without adornment or mentioning a hostile deity. Fifthly, the scapegoat is sent away to the land of the enemies and offered to the hostile deity who has caused the pestilence. Sixthly, it is the king and the army commanders who play the main role in the ritual. Finally, the rituals are ascribed to practitioners from outlying parts of the Hittite empire, Kizzuwatna, Hapalla and Arzawa, that is, city-states in South-East Anatolia and present Northern Syria.[8]

2. *The Israelites*

In Israel, our main piece of evidence is of course *Leviticus* 16 with its description of the Day of Atonement.[9] The date of the final redaction of the chapter is much debated, but for our purpose it may be sufficient to consider it post-exilic but pre-Hellenistic. Unfortunately, no consensus has been reached about the place of the chapter in the whole of the Pentateuch or the nature of its various sources.[10] Moreover, in his authoritative commentary, Milgrom has nearly totally abandoned earlier attempts at distinguishing all kinds of sources and simply limited

[7] The use of a woman has been taken over in Neo-Assyrian eliminary rites, cf. B. Pongratz-Leisten, "Ritual Killing and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East," in K. Finsterbusch *et al*. (eds.), *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden, 2007) 3–33 at 26.

[8] Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, 51; Haas, "Betrachtungen".

[9] For the ritual see especially B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt," in B. Janowski *et al*. (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1993) 109–69; D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2003) 28–33.

[10] For example, note the contrasting opinions of Th. Seidl, "Levitikus 16 –"Schlussstein" des priesterlichen Systems der Sündenvergebung," in H.-J. Fabry and H.-W. Jüngling (eds.), *Levitikus als Buch* (Berlin and Bodenheim, 1999) 219–48; H. Seebass, "Zum Stand der Pentateuchforschung. Das Buch Numeri," in F. García Martínez and E. Noort (eds.), *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism* (Leiden, 1998) 109–22 at 110 note 5.

himself to assuming a 'Priestly Source' (1–28) and a 'Holiness Source' (29–34).[11] I will try to steer away from those problems and rigorously limit myself to my theme, namely to what extent the Israelites did take over the scapegoat rituals first attested in Northern Syria.

Now it will be immediately clear to every reader of the *Leviticus* chapter that it is a complicated mixture of several rituals. Phenomenologically, and thus historically I would conclude, we can distinguish two different actions, although in the course of time they have become interrelated. First, there is the expiation for the sins of Aaron and his house through the sacrifice of a young bull (3), the blood of which he has to sprinkle on top of and in front of the *kapporet*, the mercy seat of the ark (14). The presence of the blood is clearly important,[12] and we may compare Greek vase paintings where the blood of the sacrificial victims on the altars is often shown as a sign of the worshippers' piety.[13] Then comes the expiation for the impurities and sins of Israel (16) through the sacrifice of a goat (15), also on top and in front of the *kapporet*, but not quite as marked as in the case of Aaron, who had to sprinkle 'his' blood seven times (14). Subsequently, the blood of the ram and the goat is sprinkled on the altar (18–19) in expiation of the impurities of the Israelites.

As regards the scapegoat proper, we have already been told that Aaron has to select two goats (5), the cheapest of the domesticated animals.[14] After a lottery one of them is assigned to Jahweh, whereas the other is meant for Azazel, a still obscure deity or demon (7–10).[15] Aaron then has to transfer the sins of the Israelites unto the goat by

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[11] J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: a new translation with introduction and commentary* (New York, 1991) 1009–84.

[12] See in this respect W. Gilders, "Blood Manipulation Ritual in the Temple Scroll," *Revue de Qumrân* 22/88 (2006) 519–45.

[13] F.T. van Straten, *Hierà kalá* (Leiden, 1995) 104; G. Ekroth, "Blood on the Altars? On the treatment of blood at Greek sacrifices and the iconographical evidence," *Antike Kunst* 48 (2005) 9–29.

[14] G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte* VI (Gütersloh, 1939) 99.

[15] The explanation by Janowski and Wilhelm, "Der Bock," 157–59, from the Akkadian root "*zz*, "divine anger," is not persuasive, since in the Hurrite enumeration "sin, *azashi*, perjury, curse" a translation 'divine anger' is hardly appropriate; see also the objections by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der biblische Azazel und AIT *126," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 25 (1993) 99–117; M. Görg, "'Asaselogen' unter sich—eine neue Runde?," *Bibl. Not.* 80 (1995) 25–31. For recent studies of Azazel see W. Fauth, "Auf den Spuren des biblischen "Azazel (Lev 16)—Einige Residuen der Gestalt oder des Namens in jüdisch-aramäischen, griechischen, koptischen, äthiopischen, syrischen und mandäischen Texten," *ZAW* 110 (1998) 514–34; J. de Roo, "Was the Goat for Azazel Destined for the Wrath of God?," *Biblica* 81 (2000) 233–42; D. Rudman, "A Note on

laying his hands on the goat (21), an archaic means of transfer which could still derive from rites in Northern Syria,[16] but which is absent from the Greek material. Finally, somebody who is not further specified has to bring the goat to the desert (21). It is easy to see that the desert is here structurally similar to the enemy in the Hittite texts or the area beyond the borders in the Greek traditions.

Some centuries later, we also hear about the Day of Atonement in Qumran, even though the ideas about atonement in the Qumran community have not yet been satisfactorily studied. The beginning of the ritual is mentioned in an *Apocryphon of Moses* (4Q375), but we hear more in the *Temple Scroll* where there is an expansion of the initial sacrifices (11Q19 25). Instead of the bullock as sin-offering and the ram as burnt-offering, we hear of a burnt-offering for Jahweh consisting of a bullock, a ram and seven yearling lambs, a sin-offering of a goat and a burnt-offering of two rams for the High Priest with the house of his father and for, presumably, the people, but the text is corrupt at this place. We hear also more about the exact treatment of the various parts of the offerings and the catching of their blood in a "golden sprinkling bowl", but the scapegoat ritual proper is exactly like in *Leviticus*.[17]

We owe a few additional details to the Mishnah treatise *Yoma*, even though it was written after the destruction of the temple.[18] We learn that, on the one hand, the position of the High Priest within the ritual had become more important, since his role was dramatised: the preparations had been intensified (I) and instead of linnen clothes, he now had to wear 'golden' ones (III 4a). On the other, we also note the participation of members of the Sanhedrin (I 3a) and the aristocracy of Jerusalem (VI 4b); apparently, the upper-class of Israel had deemed it necessary to become visibly involved in its most important religious ritual. It is important to observe that the goat was adorned with a red

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the Azazel-goat Ritual," *ZAW* 116 (2004) 396–401; C. Lemardelé, "H, Ps et le bouc pour azazel," *Revue Biblique* 113 (2006) 529–51.

[16] Janowski and Wilhelm, "Der Bock," 144.

[17] Cf. C. Körting, "Theology of Atonement in the Feast Calendar of the Temple Scroll: Some Observations," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 18 (2004) 232–47.

[18] J. Meinhold, *Joma (Der Versöhnungstag). Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung nebst einem textkritischen Anhang* (Giessen, 1913); Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 19–28 well discusses the historical value of the treatise.

ribbon around its head (IV 2a, VI 6a), another parallel to the Northern Syrian and Anatolian rituals.[19]

We may conclude that at some time in its history Israel had appropriated the Northern Syrian scapegoat ritual, although the date and route of derivation are still unclear. The Israelites, however, did not take over the ritual unchanged. Whereas the Hittites used both animals and humans as scapegoats, the Israelites selected only animals. Moreover, in the post-exilic period, at the latest, they had integrated the ritual into the temple service and thus fixed at a specific date, even though its archaic origin still remains visible.

3. *The Greeks*

The Greek scapegoat rituals have often been discussed.[20] The so-called Cambridge school in particular, with its lively and morbid interest in everything strange and cruel, paid much attention to it.[21] Our own time too has become fascinated once again by these enigmatic rituals, and gradually their meaning is becoming clearer. Where earlier generations, still influenced by the German Wilhelm Mannhardt, (1831–1880), often detected traces of a fertility ritual in the scapegoat complex, Burkert has rightly pointed out that in these rituals the community sacrifices one of its members to save its own skin.[22] Although the general meaning is thus clear, many details are still in need of clarification. For that reason I shall analyze the ritual complex in a more detailed way, paying

[19] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 64; Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 29 note 54.

[20] See more recently H.S. Versnel, "Polycrates and His Ring," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* I (1977) 17–46 at 37–43; Burkert, *Structure and History*, 59–77, 168–76 and *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 82–84, 379–80; R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 258–80; J.-M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Leiden, 1987) 89–92 (by S.R. Slings); D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1991) 139–65, 241–48; the extensive apparatus to the relevant fragments in H. Degani, *Hipponactis testimonia et fragmenta* (Stuttgart, 1991[2]); P. Bonnechere, *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne* (Athens and Liège, 1994) 118–21, 293–308; S. Georgoudi, "À propos du sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne: remarques critiques," *Arch. f. Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999) 61–82 (several interesting observations); T. Compton, *Victim of the muses: poet as scapegoat, warrior, and hero in Greco-Roman and Indo-European myth and history* (Cambridge Mass., 2006) 3–68.

[21] J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903) 95–119; L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* IV (Oxford, 1907) 268–84; G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, 1907) 13–16, 253–8; J.G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat* = *The Golden Bough* IX (London, 1913[3]) 252–74.

[22] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 70 and *Greek Religion*, 84.

special attention to its structure. First, however, I shall present a general survey of the evidence.

Our fullest evidence comes from the sixth-century poet Hipponax of Kolophon, at the west coast of modern Turkey. He wishes that his enemies be treated as *pharmakoi* or 'scapegoats', which evidently implies that they will be fed with figs, barley cake, and cheese (fr. 6 W(est)^2 = D(egani)^2). Then, in inclement weather, they will be hit on the genitals with the squill, with twigs of the wild fig tree and other wild plants.[23] Tzetzes (*Chil*. 5.737–9), our source for the fragments of Hipponax,[24] adds that the *pharmakos* was finally burned on 'wild' wood and his ashes strewn into the sea. However, despite this detailed description Hipponax's information should be used with the utmost care. Invective played an important role in ancient poetry, and it is typical of this kind of poetry to disregard the conventions of real life by exaggerating the point the poet wants to make.[25] Thus the mention of inclement weather already shows that Hipponax is not describing the real ritual, since the Thargelia (fr. 104 W^2 = 107 D^2) took place in early summer, but conjures up a fate even worse than that experienced at the actual scapegoat ritual.[26] Neither does it seem very probable that the scapegoat was hit on the genitals, since this is not mentioned in our sources for any of the other comparable ceremonies. This too looks much like a product of Hipponax's malicious imagination, even though the scapegoat will have been expelled with the squill and twigs of the wild fig tree, just as the slave in Chaeronea (see below) was chased out with twigs of the *agnus castus*.

As regards Athens, our sources are divided.[27] One group states that in exceptional times, such as a drought or a famine, certain ugly

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[23] Hipp. frr. 5, 6, 10 W^2 = 6, 26, 30 D^2. For the text of fr. 10 W^2 = fr. 30 D^2 see E. Degani, "Note ipponattee," in *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella I* (Catania, 1972) 93–125 at 97–103 and his *Filologia e storia*, 2 vols (Hildesheim, 2004) I.168–72. L. Koenen, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 86 compares the flogging of Encolpius' penis in Petronius (*c*.138). This is highly persuasive, since Petronius evidenty was interested in the scapegoat ritual: he is our main source for Massilia (fr. 1) and the only Latin author to use the word *pharmacus* (*c*.107).

[24] For other possible references to the ritual in Hipponax's poetry see Bremer, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems*, 89–92 (by Slings).

[25] G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore, 1979) 222–42.

[26] For a convincing defence of the transmitted text (fr. 6 W^2/D^2), see A. Henrichs, "Riper than a Pear: Parian Invective in Theokritos," *ZPE* 39 (1980) 7–27 at 26–7; differently, Degani, *Filologia e storia*, I.102.

[27] Unfortunately, *POxy*. 53.3709 is too lacunose to be informative.

people were selected and sacrificed.[28] Another group states that at the Thargelia, a festival for Apollo, a man with white figs around his neck was expelled from the city as purification for the men, and another man with black figs for the women.[29] In Abdera, a poor man was feasted once, led around the walls of the city and finally chased over the borders with stones.[30] In Massilia another poor devil offered himself during a plague. He was feasted for a year and then cast out of the city.[31] In Leukas a criminal was cast off a rock into the sea for the sake of averting evil during a festival of Apollo.[32] Another notice reports that every year a young man was cast into the sea with the words "Be thou our offscouring".[33]

From this survey it appears that the ritual was performed during the Thargelia, a festival peculiar to the Ionians, in normal times, but evidently also during extraordinary circumstances such as plague, famine, and drought (events which can of course hardly be separated).[34] With these rituals, scholars usually connect a notice of Plutarch that in his home town of Chaeronea every year a ceremony was performed in which *Boulimos*, or 'Famine', represented by a slave, was chased out of the city with rods of the *agnus castus*, a willow-like plant.[35] Finally, it is related in the romance of Iamboulos (Diod. Sic. 2.55) that the Aethiopians, in order to purify themselves, put two men into boats and sent them away over the sea, never to return again.

With these rituals in which the elimination of one or two members saves the whole of the community, we may compare those stories in

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[28] Schol. Ar. *Eq*. 1136; Suda κ 29 and φ 104.

[29] Harpoc. s.v. *pharmakos*; Helladios *apud* Photius *Bibl.* 534a, cf. R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 482f. Hsch. s.v. *pharmakos* wrongly states that the pair consisted of a man and a woman, see O. Gebhard, in *RE* V A (1934) 1291.

[30] Call. fr. 90 with scholion; Ov. *Ib.* 467–68 with scholion.

[31] Petronius fr. 1; Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 10.793; schol. Luc. 10.334.

[32] Strabo 10.2; Ampelius 8.

[33] Photius s.v. *peripsêma*; Suda π 1355. The two are connected by M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich, 1969[3]) 109f.

[34] For the close connection of *limos* and *loimos*, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 128; West on Hes. *Op*. 243; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *C*. 1.21.13; C. de Lamberterie, "'Peste et famine à la fois': un nouvel example de l''effet Saussure' en grec ancien," in F. Poli and G. Vottéro (eds.), *De Cyrène à Catherine: trois mille ans de Libyennes* (Nancy and Paris, 2005) 137–48.

[35] Plut. *M*. 693–4, see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970) 160–1; J.P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs I* (Paris, 1981[6]) 164–65; V. Rotolo, "Il rito della *boulimou exelasis*," in *Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni VI* (Rome, 1980) 1947–61. For the chasing of Hunger compare the late epigram of Termessos (*TAM* III.103) in which a certain Honoratus is honored because "he chased hunger to the sea."

which the death of one or two people saves the city from destruction. This is a motif which we frequently find in ancient Greece. During a war of Thebes with Orchomenos two girls sacrificed themselves, as an oracle required, in order that Thebes should win the war (Paus. 9.17.1). When a plague had struck Orchomenos the daughters of Orion sacrificed themselves in order to stop the plague.[36] When Eumolpos threatened to conquer Athens, the daughters of Erechtheus sacrificed themselves,[37] and after Agraulos had voluntarily thrown herself from the wall, Athens' luck in a(n unspecified) war finally turned (Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 105). Just as noble was the behaviour of the daughters of Leos when Athens was struck by a plague or a famine.[38] Even more interesting is the case of the Athenian king Kodros, which will be discussed momentarily.[39] We can easily mention other examples, and although the origin of each of these myths is not always traceable, it is clear that Euripides, especially, promulgated the pattern in his tragedies, moved, presumably, by the great danger of Athens in the Peloponnesian War.[40] All the above examples are girls, but in a bold move shortly before his death and the final defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War Euripides also introduced a male saviour of the polis. In his *Phoenissae* the youth Menoecus saved his city by committing suicide by cutting his throat and jumping down the city's walls.

The close connection of these mythical tales with the historical rituals appears also from the fact that on the island of Naxos the girl Polykrite

[36] Anton. Lib. 25; Ov. *Met.* 13.685.

[37] U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* (Berlin, 1976) 196–97 and "Erechtheus," in *LIMC* IV.1 (1988) 922–51, no. 64–68; C. Collard *et al.*, *Euripides. Selected Fragmentary Plays* I (Warminster, 1995) 156–94.

[38] Kron, *Phylenheroen*, 195–98; E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989) 59–63.

[39] For other possible examples of kings, see Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice," 144 note 2.

[40] J. Schmitt, *Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides* (Giessen, 1921); P. Roussel, "Le thème du sacrifice volontaire dans la tragédie d'Euripide," *Revue Belge Philol. Hist.* (1922) 225–40; Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice," 179–85, with an interesting discussion; C. Nancy, "Φάρμακον σωτηρίας: Le mécanisme du sacrifice humain chez Euripide," in *Théâtre et spectacles dans l'antiquité* (Leiden, 1983) 17–30; E. O'Connor-Visser, *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides* (Amsterdam, 1987); J. Wilkins, "The State and the Individual: Plays of Voluntary Self-sacrifice," in A. Powell (ed.), *Euripides, Women, and Sexuality* (London, 1990) 177–94; S. O'Bryhim, "The Ritual of Human Sacrifice in Euripides," *Class. Bull.* 76 (2000) 29–37; P. Oikonomopoulou, "*To kill or not to kill?* Human sacrifices in Greece according to Euripidean thought," in D.-C. Naoum *et al.* (eds.), *Cult and Death* (Oxford, 2004) 63–7.

was honored with sacrifices during the Thargelia, because, as was told, she had died after saving the city from destruction.[41]

Finally, although scapegoat rituals are well attested for ancient Greece, it is unclear how and when they were taken over from the Ancient Near East. However, its occurrence in Abdera, which was traditionally founded by Ionian Clazomenae in 654 BC, and in Massilia, which was founded by Phocaeans around 600 BC, points at least to the earlier Archaic Age. In fact, these cities strongly suggest an origin of the scapegoat ritual in Ionia, from where it probably was exported to Athens. Now Hipponax's hometown Kolophon was a town where also the Kronia were celebrated (Ch. V). Moreover, it was the town where Kybele, a Phrygian goddess, was already worshipped in the early archaic Age.[42] At that time, there were intensive Ionian contacts with Northern Syria and Late Hittite states, which led to several instances of religious influence from that area;[43] amongst them there will have also been the scapegoat ritual.

3.1. *Who were the scapegoats?*

After this general survey of the evidence we will now proceed to a more detailed discussion, starting with the scapegoats themselves. Who was chosen as a scapegoat, and why these particular people? Some victims were clearly lower class, the poor devils of Abdera and Massilia, for instance, and the *Boulimos* in Chaeronea who was represented by a slave. The Athenian *pharmakoi*, too, are described as "of low origin and useless" (schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136) and "common and maltreated by nature" (schol. Ar. *Ra.* 733). The Leukadians even went so far as to choose a criminal. According to Tzetzes, too, the ugliest person was selected.[44] But in the fictional romance of Iamboulos the scapegoats are strangers, and in the aetiological myth of the Athenian Thargelia they are young men.[45] Finally, we encounter young women and a king.

Now the question naturally arises whether these categories—criminals, slaves, ugly persons, strangers, young men and women, and a king—have something in common (however *bien etonnés de se trouver ensemble*!). Or, to put this question in different terms: do these different

[41] G. Radke, in *RE* XXI (1951) 1753–59; Burkert, *Structure and History*, 72f.
[42] F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 113.
[43] See this volume, Chapters V and XV.
[44] Tzetzes, *Chil.* 5.732; schol. Aesch. *Sept.* 680.
[45] Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 16; Diog. Laert. 1.110.

signifiers perhaps possess the same *signified*? The answer is surely yes. All these categories have in common that they are situated at the margin of Greek society. For the first categories this is obvious enough. Criminals put themselves outside the community, and strangers naturally do not belong to it.[46] Slaves, poor and ugly persons did not count in ancient Greece. As for young women, it has been shown that their place was not inside but at the margin of society.[47] The king distinguished himself from the rest of the population in that he alone could claim contact with the divine. *Diotrephês*, 'raised by Zeus', is a stock epithet of kings in Homer.[48] Where criminals are marginals at the bottom of society, the king is the lonely marginal at the top.[49] The myth shows, however, that high and low are interchangeable: the Athenian king Kodros, a representative of ancient times and the saviour, of the Athenian community by his death,[50] was killed dressed up as a woodworker.[51]

When we now survey our material, we are struck by a curious dichotomy. On the one hand we find the poor, the ugly, and criminals, who only occur in the historical rites. This must have been such a recurrent feature of the scapegoat rituals that the words used to denote

[46] A. Dorgingfung-Smets, "Les étrangers dans la société primitive," *Receuil Jean Bodin 9* (1958) 59–73; E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969) I, 355–361; Ph. Gauthier, "Notes sur l'étranger et l'hospitalité en Grèce et à Rome," *Ancient Society* 4 (1973) 1–21; J. Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem* (Cambridge, 1977) 94–112, 179–181; O. Hiltbrunner, "Hostis und *xenos*," in *Festschrift F.K. Dörner* (Leiden, 1978) I, 424–45; G.-J. Pinault, "Le nom indo-iranien de l'hôte," in W. Meid (ed.), *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen* (Innsbruck, 1998) 451–77.

[47] C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* (Lanham, 1997); F. Graf, "The Locrian Maidens," in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000) 250–70.

[48] *Iliad* I. 176, II.98, etc.

[49] G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (Berlin, 1969) 360–93; C. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 43ff.

[50] For Kodros and ancient times see *PCG* Adespota 573; Zenobius II.6 with Bühler.

[51] K. Scherling, in *RE* XI (1922) 984–94; Burkert, *Structure and History* 62–63; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "The Cup Bologna PU 273: a reading," *Metis* 5 (1990) 137–53; E. Simon, "Kodros," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 86–88; add *IG* II^2 4258 with the comments by A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Österr. Ak. Wiss. Wien* 87 (1950) 366–70, a monument picturing Kodros' death. The name Kodros already occurs in the Linear-B tablets: C.A. Mastrelli, "Il nome di Codro," in *Atti e Memorie VII Congr. Intern. di Scienze Onomast.* III (Florence, 1963) 207–17.

the scapegoat—*pharmakos*,[52] *katharma*,[53] *perikatharma*,[54] *peripsêma*[55]—soon became terms of abuse.[56] On the other hand there are the attractive, aristocratic and royal figures that are found only in the mythical and unhistorical tales.[57]

We can explain this dichotomy as follows. When a catastrophe can be averted from the community by the death of one of its members, such a member must naturally be a very valuable one. This is continually stressed in the mythical tales. For example, the oracle asks for the death of the person with the most famous ancestors (Paus. 9.17.1), or of the daughters of the king, as in the case of Leos (Ael. *VH* 12.28) and Erechtheus (Lyc. *Leoc*. 98–99). In other cases the beauty of the scapegoat is stressed. The youth who sacrificed himself in Athens is described by the aetiological myth as a 'handsome lad' (Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 16) and Polykrite, the name of the girl who saved Naxos, means 'she who has been chosen by many'.[58]

In real life, during the annual scapegoat ritual, there was of course little chance that the king (if any) would sacrifice himself or his children. Here, society chose one of its marginals. Nevertheless the people realized that they could not save their own skin by sacrificing the scum

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[52] Ar. *Eq.* 1405, Lys. 6.53; Petronius *c.* 107.

[53] J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* II (Amsterdam 1752) 114–15; Kassel and Austin on Eupolis fr. 384.8; Ar. fr. 655.

[54] F. Hauck, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 3 (1938) 681f.

[55] G. Stählin, *ibidem* 6 (1959) 83–92; C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néotestamentaire* II (Göttingen, 1978) 681–2; K.M. Starowieyski, "*Perikatharma* et *peripsema*. Przycznek do historii egzegery patrystycznej," *Eos* 78 (1990) 281–95.

[56] As was already shown by H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig and Berlin, 1913) 258; see also V. Gebhard, *Die Pharmakoi in Ionien und die Sybakchoi in Athen* (Diss. Munich, 1926) 22–24; M. Di Marco, "Pirria *pharmakós*," *ZPE* 117 (1997) 35–41.

[57] We find a similar dichotomy in Rome, although this has not yet been recognized. According to Macrobius (*Sat*. 3.9.9) *dictatores imperatoresque soli possunt devovere*, but he does not give a single historical instance of such a *devotio*. Similarly, all the examples adduced by Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice"—Curtius, Decius, and the *seniores* at the Celtic invasion of 390 BC—belong to the world of legend, as he himself recognizes (pp. 142–43). Livy (8.10.11), however, explicitly says *licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere*. We may safely assume that the members of the Roman élite rather sacrificed a common *legionarius* than themselves. For the Greek inspiration of the Decius legend, see now Cavallaro (above, note 1).

[58] Burkert, *Structure and History* 73. Versnel, "Self-sacrifice," 144–45 appropriately compares the Roman examples of Curtius (Liv. 7.6.2) and St. Caesarius (*Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. 1, 106–07). J. Toutain, *Annuaire de l'Ecole de Hautes Etudes* 1916–17, 1ff., which is quoted by Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice," 145 note 2, has been reprinted in Toutain, *Nouvelles études de mythologie et d'histoire des religions antiques* (Paris, 1935) 126–48; also add to Versnel's bibliography on St. Caesarius: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome 1963) III, 1154f.

of the polis. For that reason the scapegoat was always treated as a very important person. In Massilia he was kept by the state—a treatment usually reserved for very important people—for one year and then chased from the city, dressed in holy clothes.[59] In Abdera he was treated to an excellent dinner before being chased away.[60] In Athens, too, he was kept by the state, and in the end led out of the city in fine clothes.[61]

In Kolophon the *pharmakos* received in his hand figs, barley cake, and cheese.[62] Hipponax mocks the simplicity of the food, but the ritual is older than his time, and we find a striking parallel in the Hittite scapegoat ritual that we quoted in full (§ 1). In that ritual the scapegoats evidently also received food which we would not term particularly exquisite; nevertheless it is clearly considered as something special. In this prescription of a certain Ashella we are also struck by the adornment of the scapegoats. This must have been a recurrent feature of the Hittite scapegoats, since in the prescription of Uhhamuwa a *crowned* ram has to be sent away, and in the one of Pulisa the god has to be content with a "lusty, decorated bull with earring".[63] In all these cases a cheap or relatively superfluous animal—for the continuation of the herds only few male animals need be kept from the many that are born—or a woman is sent away after being made more attractive than they originally were. This structural similarity with our Greek material is a welcome corroboration of our interpretation.

Summing up, we conclude that in historical reality the community sacrificed the least valuable members of the polis, who were represented, however, as very valuable persons. In the mythical tales one could pass this stage and in the myths we always find beautiful or important persons, although even then these scapegoats remain marginal figures: young men and women, and a king.

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[59] Petronius fr. 1, cf. E. Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius* (Oxford, 2001) 43–5 (with some interesting speculations on the scapegoat in Massilia); schol. Stat. *Theb.* 10.793.

[60] Call. fr. 90; *POxy*. 53.3709.

[61] Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136; Suda κ 29.

[62] Hipp. fr. 8 W^2 = 28 D^2, cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 5.734. Barley was considered to be slave's bread: Hipp. fr. 26.6, 115.8 W^2 = 36.6, 194.8 D^2; Aesch. *Ag.* 1041; Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum* I, 876–7; Bremmer, "Marginalia Manichaica," *ZPE* 39 (1980) 29–34 at 32.

[63] Uhhamuwa: Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, 48. Pulisa: Gurney, *ibidem*, 48 = H.M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (Wiesbaden, 1967) 111ff.

3.2. *Voluntariness*

According to Petronius (fr. 1) the scapegoat offered himself spontaneously in Massilia. Such behavior is the rule in our mythical examples, where the victims always sacrifice themselves voluntarily.[64] Thus Origen (*c. Cels*. 1.31) can compare these mythical examples with Jesus:[65]

> They [the apostles] not only dared to show to the Jews from the words of the prophets that he was the prophesied one, but also to the other peoples that he, who had been recently crucified, voluntarily died for mankind, like those who died for their fatherland, to avert plague epidemics, famines, and shipwreck.[66]

However, according to another source the scapegoat in Massilia was lured by 'rewards',[67] and in Abdera he had to be bought for money (Call. fr. 90). These reports must surely be nearer the historical truth; yet the mythical tales, as so often, give a valuable insight into Greek sacrificial ideology. In Greece, as Karl Meuli has brillianty demonstrated, sacrifice had to be conducted on the basis of voluntariness. People pretended that the victim went up to the altar of its own accord, and even asked for its consent. Whenever the animal did not shake its head in agreement, wine or milk was poured over its head. When, subsequently, the animal tried to shake this off its head, this was interpreted as a sign of its consent! In myth or legend such a trick was not necessary and it was often said that animals went up to the altar voluntarily. Sometimes it was pretended that the animal had committed a crime, but in that case its death was its own fault![68] We meet this line of reasoning

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[64] Schmitt, *Freiwilliger Opfertod*; Roussel, "Le thème du sacrifice volontaire;" Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice," 179–85; Wilkins, "The State and the Individual: Plays of Voluntary Self-sacrifice"; U. Kron, "Patriotic heroes," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (Stockholm, 1999) 61–83.

[65] Note that Eur. *Bacch*. 963, in which Dodds (*ad loc.*) rightly sees an allusion to the scapegoat ritual, in *Christus Patiens* (1525) is said of Jesus (with thanks to the late Charles Segal), cf. K. Pollmann, "Jesus Christus und Dionysos. Überlegungen zu den Euripides-Cento *Christus Patiens*," *Jahrb. Österr. Byz.* 47 (1997) 87–106 at 104.

[66] For human sacrifice at sea see L. Röhrich, "Die Volksballade von 'Herrn Peters Seefahrt' und die Menschenopfer-Sagen," in *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung. Festschrift F. von der Leyen* (Munich, 1963) 177–212, reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften zur Volkslied- und Volksballadenforschung* (Münster, 2002) 113–54 and "Mann als Sturmopfer," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 9 (1999) 191–5; H. Henningsen, "Jonas, profet og ulykkesfugl," *Handels- og Sofartsmuseets Årbog* (Helsinki, 1966) 105–22.

[67] Schol. Stat. Theb.10.793 *proliciebatur praemiis*.

[68] K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols. (Basel, 1975) II.950, 982, 993–96; see also W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, York, 1983) *passim*; G.J. Tsouknidas, "Symmeikta," *Athena* 80 (1985–89) 179–95 at 186–93; Van Straten, *Hierà*

in the *aition* of a scapegoat ritual in an unknown Ionian city. Here it was related that a man, whose very name was Pharmakos, was stoned (§ 6) by the companions of Achilles for stealing holy cups belonging to Apollo.[69] A similar line of reasoning occurs in the legend of Aesopus who is pictured as a *pharmakos* and who is thrown over a cliff (cf. the case of Leukas above) after having been accused of stealing a golden cup.[70]

3.3. *The plants*

According to Tzetzes (*Chil.* 5.736–37) the *pharmakos* was whipped with squills, twigs of the wild fig tree, and other wild plants, and finally burned on a fire made of 'wild' wood. Why this insistence on wild plants? And what is the connection between these wild plants, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the squill and the *agnus castus*, which was used in the Chaeronean ritual? For the discussion of this problem we will take our point of departure in Rome, where the point we want to make is rather more obvious.

In Rome a distinction was made between the fruit-bearing tree, *arbor felix*, and the unproductive one, *arbor infelix*.[71] The latter category comprised not only the unproductive trees—although they constituted its main part—but also those trees which were thorny, had black fruit, or blood red twigs. It was on an *arbor infelix* that the traitor was hung and scourged to death; monstrosities and prodigies were burned on its wood.[72] The idea seems clear.[73] Trees useful for the community could not be used for persons and animals which had situated themselves outside the community. For the modern city dweller such a distinction

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kalá, 100–02; N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (Opladen, 1997) 38–40; J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* (Münster, 2002) 181, 203.

[69] Istros *FGrH* 334 F 50 with Jacoby.

[70] A. Wiechers, *Aesop in Delphi* (Meisenheim, 1961) 31–36; F.R. Adrados, "The 'Life of Aesop'," *QUCC* 30 (1979) 93–112; Nagy, *The Best*, 279–82. Compton, *Victim of the Muses*, 19–40.

[71] Most important evidence: Macr. *Sat.* 3.20.3, cf. J. André, "Arbor felix, arbor infelix," in *Hommages à Jean Bayet* (Brussels, 1964) 35–46; A. Dihle, *Rhein. Mus.* 108 (1965) 179–83; J. Bayet, *Croyances et rites dans la Rome antique* (Paris, 1971) 9–43; Th. Köves-Zulauf, in *ANRW* II.16.1 (1978) 262–63; A. Weis, "The motif of the adligatus and tree," *Am. J. Arch.* 86 (1982) 21–38.

[72] Traitor: Liv. 1.26.6 with Ogilvie; Cic. *Rab. perd.*3. Monstrosities: Luc. 1.590–01; Macr. *Sat.* 3.20.3.

[73] Graf, "The Locrian maidens," 260.

has probably lost most of its significance, but in the Middle Ages it was still of great importance, since the unproductive trees, called *mort-bois*, were free to be taken away from the woods.[74]

We meet the same idea in Greece. Monstrosities like the snakes who had tried to strangle Heracles were burnt on 'wild' wood.[75] Theocritus (24.89–90) mentions that the wood had to be of thorny material which in Rome too was considered as an *arbor infelix*, and even in the Middle Ages was thought to be *mort-bois*.[76] Whenever one of the Locrian Maidens—girls who lived in a state of marginality—died, she had to be burned on 'wild' wood.[77] A connection between death and a wild tree also seems to follow from a fragment of Euripides' *Sciron* (fr. 679) where there is a reference to impaling on the branches of the wild fig tree. Unfortunately, we do not know for whom this unpleasant treatment was meant. It will now hardly be surprising that the *pharmakos* too was reported to have been burnt on 'wild' wood. Ancient Greece evidently made the same connection as ancient Rome between wild trees and persons who had to be removed from the community.[78]

Hipponax (fr. 6 D^2/W^2) tells us that the *pharmakos* was hit on the genitals with the squill.[79] Even though this particular anatomical target seems unlikely, as we have seen, the hitting of the body with squills does not seem improbable, since the Arcadians, when returning home from an unsuccessful hunt, used squills to whip the statue of Pan, the god closely associated with the hunt.[80] It seems that the squill was chosen because this plant too was an unproductive one. The status of the squill was very low, as appears from the words of Theognis (537–38) to the effect that a free child will never be born from a slave, just as neither a rose nor a hyacinth will be born from a squill. The plant had the effect

[74] G. Rabuse, "Mort Bois und Bois Mort," in *Verba et vocabula. Ernst Gamillschegg zum 80. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1968) 429–47.

[75] Phryn. *PS* 15.12; *Anecd. Bekk.* 10.26.

[76] Rome: André, "Arbor felix," 40–41; K. Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg, 1970) 75f. Middle Ages: Rabuse, "Mort bois," 442–44.

[77] André, "Arbor felix," 40–41 (Rome); Lembach, *Die Pflanzen*, 75–6; Rabuse, "Mort bois," 442–44 (Middle Ages).

[78] Eupolis fr. 132 with Kassel and Austin; Parker, *Miasma*, 221.

[79] For the squill see A. Steier, in *RE* A III (1929) 522–26; Lembach, *Die Pflanzen*, 63–65; Parker, *Miasma*, 231–32; P. Warren, "Of squills," in *Aux origines de l'Hellénisme. Hommage à Henri Effenterre* (Paris, 1984) 17–24.

[80] Schol. Theoc. 7.108, cf. Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome, 1979) 107–17; for a medieval parallel, see Jacob de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* 3.8.

of a stinging nettle,[81] and Artemidorus (3.50) informs us that the plant was inedible, as is also illustrated by an anecdote from the life of the Palestinian monk Kyriakos (Cyr. Alex. *Kyr*. 227). When Kyriakos had withdrawn into the desert and one day could not find his customary food, the roots of wild plants, he prayed to God to make the squill edible, because, as he argued, God can turn bitterness into sweetness. The Suda (σ 605) even calls the plant 'death-bringing'. Now, when we see that in Rome the parricide was whipped with the red twigs of the cornel tree, an *arbor infelix*, the conclusion seems evident.[82] Not only for the execution of criminals but also for whipping them wood was chosen which belonged to the category of the unproductive trees.

The squill was also used for fighting. We know that in Sicily and Priene the ephebes fought with squills.[83] This probably meant that they pelted each other with the bulbs, although a fight with the leaves cannot be excluded. The connection of the ephebes with the squill will hardly be fortuitous. Just like the *pharmakos*, the ephebes too are marginal persons.[84]

The distinction between fruit-bearing and unproductive trees also helps to throw light on the chasing away of Famine with rods of *agnus castus* in Chaeronea. The willow is already called 'fruit-destroying' by Homer (*Od*. 15.510), since it was thought to lose its fruit before ripening. During the Thesmophoria, the Athenian women slept on twigs of the lygos or *agnus castus*—a tree usually identified with the lygos—because the plant was thought to promote infertility.[85] Pliny, too, mentions the

[81] Arist. fr. 223; Nic. *Alex*. 254.

[82] Mod. *Dig*. 48 tit. 9.1 prooem. *virgis sanguineis verberatus*, cf. Bayet, *Croyances et rites*, 36.

[83] Sicily: schol. Theoc. 7.106/8d, the reading of which is unnecessarily doubted by Wilamowitz *apud* C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Leipzig, 1914) 104; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 140. Priene: *I. Priene* 112.91, 95.

[84] Bremmer, "Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978) 5–38; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris, 1983²) 151–207; differently, D. Riaño Rufilanchas, "Zwei Agone in *I. Priene* 112," *ZPE* 129 (2000) 89–96.

[85] Thesmophoria: Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1999²) 76. Lygos/agnus castus: Plin. *NH* 24.9.38; E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910) 152; D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955) 202; L. Robert, *J. des Savants* (1961) 134; G.J. de Vries on Pl. *Phaedr.* 230b; H. von Staden, "Spiderwoman and the Chaste Tree: The Semantics of Matter," *Configurations* 1 (1992) 23–56, overlooked by N.M. Borengässer, "Agnus Castus—ein Kraut für alle Fälle," *Jahrb. Ant. Christ. Erg.-Bd.* 28 (1998) 4–13; N.P. Milner, *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region Conducted by A.S. Hall* (Ankara, 1998) no. 115.C.10–1: a λυγοστρόπος; *The Further Academic Papers of Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford, 2005) 47–51.

plant as a means to induce infertility.[86] For the early Christian writers the tree had even become the symbol of chastity.[87]

This *arbor infelix* aspect of the lygos will help us understand its role in some other Greek myths and rituals. In Sparta Artemis was worshiped under the epithet Lygodesma, or 'willow-bound', because her statue was reputed to have been found in a thicket of willows, and a willow supported her statue (Paus. 3.16.9). In Samos Hera was said to have been born near a lygos tree in her Heraion (Paus. 7.4.4). The local historian Menedotus (*FGrH* 541 F 1) even tells a complete *aition* of Hera's connection with the lygos tree. From this tale it appears that her statue was fastened into a mat made of willow.[88] The lygos also occurs in mythical tales. In the story of Dionysos' kidnapping by pirates the god is bound with twigs of the lygos (*Hom. H. Dion.* 7), as was Hermes by Apollo (*Hom. H. Merc.* 410).[89] All these gods—Artemis, Hera, Dionysos, and Hermes—have in common that myths and rituals of reversal play a role in their cults. The late Karl Meuli, to whom we owe a first analysis of this aspect of these gods, even called them 'the fettered gods', because their statues were often fettered and sometimes only untied once a year.[90] A connection of precisely these gods with an *arbor infelix* like the lygos seems therefore completely understandable.

We are, however, not yet finished with the lygos. It was a plant from which wreaths were made. What kind of people wore such wreaths? From our analysis so far we may expect that a lygos wreath was worn by marginal people. This is indeed what we find. In the cult of Hera

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[86] Plin. *NH* 16.26.110. This aspect of the plant was taken up by medieval medicine and still in our day by homeopathy which prescribes the plant to promote libido, although scientific tests (as perhaps could have been expected) do not indicate great effectiveness, cf. O. Leeser, *Handbuch der Homöopathie* B/II (Heidelberg, 1971) 585–96.

[87] H. Rahner, "Die Weide als Symbol der Keuschheit," *Zs. f. Kath. Theol.* 56 (1932) 231–53 and *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zürich, 1945) 361–413. In the Middle Ages the tree became the symbol for infertility and the 'world' as opposed to the Christian way of life, cf. W. Fraenger, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Gütersloh 1975) index s.v. *Weide*; M. Bambeck, "Weidenbaum und Welt," *Zs. f. franz. Sprache und Lit.* 88 (1978) 195–212.

[88] For the Samian Hera see Burkert, *Structure and History*, 129–30; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 93–5.

[89] Dionysos: S. Eitrem, "Heroen der Seefahrer," *Symbolae Osloenses* 14 (1935) 53–67; U. Heimberg, *JDAI* 91 (1976) 260–65; L. Kahn, *Hermès passe* (Paris 1978) 113–17; H. Herter, "Die Delphine des Dionysos," *Archaiognosia I* (1980) 101–34; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 200f. Hermes: Kahn, *Hermès passe*, 75–117; note that L. Radermacher, *Der homerische Hermeshymnus* (Leipzig, 1931) 145–46 already connected this binding with Artemis Lygodesma and Hera of Samos.

[90] Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 1035–81; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 92–96.

of Samos it was the Carians, that is to say non-Greeks, who had to wear a lygos wreath (Menedotus, *loc. cit.*).[91] According to myth, Prometheus, too, had to wear a lygos wreath, and Prometheus was a kind of culture hero, a being always situated at the margin of society.[92] Our last example is less clear. We have a fragment of Anacreon which says: "the friendly Megistes has already been wearing a lygos wreath for ten months and is drinking honeysweet new wine". Unfortunately, this is all the fragment says, but is seems to us that Gow and Page rightly conclude that Anacreon describes the behavior of Megistes as being odd.[93] Given this dubious status of the lygos it can hardly be chance that the inhabitants of Magnesia reserved a spot for their cow dung in a place full of willows.[94]

Finally, our classification of the lygos as an *arbor infelix* does not mean that the tree should be considered a useless one. On the contrary, we know that the tree was used for all kinds of basketry. It does mean that the early Greeks in their struggle for survival distinguished primarily between fruit-bearing trees and unproductive ones.

However, we have not yet discussed all the relevant plants. In Athens the *pharmakoi* were led out of the city, one man with black figs around his neck, the other with white ones. Burkert has rightly pointed to the 'marginal' quality of the fig.[95] The fruit has obscene connotations and is in opposition to the fruits of cereal agriculture. We find this symbolic quality again in the rites involving Athenian girls. Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata* (641–45) describes their 'career' as follows:

> At the age of seven I immediately became an *arrêphoros*.
> Then, at ten, I was an *aletris* for the presiding goddess; then I was a bear at the Brauronia with the saffron-robe; and, being a beautiful girl, I carried the basket with a necklace of dried figs.[96]

We do not have many details about this necklace or about the girls who carried the basket (*kanêphoroi*), but a fragment of the Athenian

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[91] Note also Nicaenetus fr. 6 = 2705–6 GP, cf. Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers*, 51.

[92] A. Brelich, "La corona di Prometheus," in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt* (Brussels, 1970) 234–42; M. Detienne and J.P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence* (Paris, 1978[2]) 95f.

[93] Anacr. *PGM* 352, 496, cf. A.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Hellenistic Epigrams* II (Cambridge, 1965) 421.

[94] *I. Magnesia* 122 fr. e, 12, cf. Robert (above, note 86) 135–7.

[95] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 83.

[96] For the textual problems in this passage see most recently the editions of Henderson and Sommerstein.

comedian Hermippos (fr. 25) speaks of '*kanêphoroi* covered with white flour'.[97] This white flour cannot be separated from the mythical tales of young girls covered with scurvy, as Burkert has demonstrated.[98] Where myth spoke of a real illness, ritual characteristically required only white flour.[99] Evidently, the carrying of a basket was a duty for girls in a state of marginality, and the figs will have signified this state, as the squills did in the case of the ephebes.

The reader may, however, object that the fig tree is a useful and fruit-bearing tree. This is certainly true, and I would therefore add to Burkert's explanation that the black fig came from a *wild* fig tree (Theophr. *HP*. 2.2.8; Plin. *NH* 17.256), as did the white one (Athenaeus 3.76cde). This means that these fruits, too, fit into the pattern we have explored: marginal persons are connected with marginal plants.

3.4. *Leaving the city*

The elimination of a citizen from the polis was a serious matter. How exactly did it happen? The *pharmakos* was probably led out of the city in a procession,[100] which in Chaeronea started from the public hearth, as Plutarch (*M* 693e) informs us. This hearth was situated in the prytaneion, the Greek town hall. Since people that were kept by the state, as happened with the scapegoat in Athens and Massilia, were also entertained in the prytaneion,[101] the conclusion seems reasonable that normally the procession started from the prytaneion. Elimination from the community started from the heart of that community.

While the procession left the city, flutes played a special melody which was called the 'melody of the wild fig'.[102] We do not know anything more about that melody, but the analogy with folk music does perhaps suggest something about the nature of the music. It has been pointed

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[97] For the *kanêphoroi*, see A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome, 1969) 274–90; M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London and New York, 2002) 37–41.

[98] Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 170.

[99] For this difference between myth and ritual see Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship," in R. von Haehling (ed.), *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt, 2005) 21–43.

[100] A.D. Keramopoullos, *Ho apotympanismos* (Athens, 1923) 116–19, who compares Aesch. *Cho.* 98; Pl. *Crat*. 396e and schol. Pl. *Leg* 9.877; Lys. 6.53.

[101] F. Gschnitzer, in *RE* Suppl. XIII (1973) 805; S.G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley, 1978) 13–14; M.J. Osborne, "Entertainment in the Prytaneion at Athens," *ZPE* 41 (1981) 153–70.

[102] Hipp. fr. 153 W^2 = 146 D^2; Hsch. κ 3918; Photius κ 1045.

out that music in traditional rites can be divided into harmonious and unharmonious.[103] The latter kind of music was played especially during the removal of persons from the community, as in the case of a charivari. Now Hipponax (153 W^2 = 146 D^2) tells us that his fellow poet Mimnermus played this melody. Given the malicious nature of Hipponax, he will hardly have meant this as a compliment. It seems therefore not unreasonable to assume that in this case too the music will not have been particularly harmonious.

Plutarch (*M.* 518b) relates that cities had special gates for those condemned to death, and for purgations and purificatory offerings. Similarly, the public prison in Athens had a special gate, the gate of Charon, for those condemned to death.[104] The scapegoats, too, will have left the city by a special gate, since at least for Abdera we hear of such a gate, the Prauridian gate (Call. fr. 90).

After the passage through the special gate the scapegoat was led around the city in a procession. This is certain for Massilia and Abdera, and probable for Athens. The Cynic Diogenes too alluded to this custom. He was supposed to have said during a visit to the Isthmian games: "One should lead around those potbellies (the athletes!) and purify (the place) all round, and then chase them over the border" (Dio Chr. 8.14). Deubner denied the circumambulation and thought that the procession only touched upon as many points as possible within the city.[105] However, he had overlooked the text from Dio and, moreover, the two types of procession—going around and staying within the city—are not mutually exclusive, since both rites were performed during medieval and more recent plague epidemics.[106] A circumambulation is a ritual which can be performed in different contexts: apotropaic, cathartic, and as rite of aggregation.[107] In the scapegoat ritual the cathartic aspect

[103] C. Marcel-Dubois, "Musiques cérémonielles et sociétés rurales," *Proc. 8th Inter. Congr. Anthrop. et Ethn. Sciences* II (Tokyo, 1968) 340 and "Fêtes villageoises et vacarmes ceremoniels," in J. Jacquot and E. Konigson (eds.), *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* III (Paris, 1975) 603–15.

[104] Poll. 8.102; Zen. 6.41; H. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 28.

[105] L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932) 181.

[106] J. Delumeau, *La peur en Occident* (Paris, 1978) 139f.

[107] V. Hillebrandt, "Circumambulatio," *Mitt. Schles. Gesells. f. Vkd.* 13/4 (1911) 3–8; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania, 1915) 6–29; E.F. Knuchel, *Die Umwandlung in Kult, Magie und Rechtsbrauch* (Basel, 1919); E. Weinkopf, "umführen, umtragen," in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8 (1936–37) 1315–20; W. Pax, "Circumambulatio," in *RAC* 3 (1957) 143–52; H.S. Versnel, "Sacrificium lustrale: The Death of Mettius Fufetius (Livy I.28)," *Med. Ned. Instit. Rome 37* (1975)

was most prominent, since the ritual was called *perikathairein*, 'to purify around', and the scapegoat *perikatharma*.

Finally, the *pharmakos* was chased over the border. In Athens and Massilia this happened by means of pelting with stones, and the aetiological myth of the killing of Pharmakos and the story of Polykrite also presuppose a stoning. In a most interesting discussion of this horrific ritual Detlev Fehling has pointed out that stoning was not always meant to kill; it was often only a kind of *Imponier* behavior.[108] Whether this was the case with the scapegoat we will discuss in our next section.

It was typical of stoning that everybody present took part in it, and Fehling has suggested that this participation of all people involved was necessary, because those who kept themselves aloof could still think of the expelled person as one of the group; such a thought could become responsible for heavy conflicts within the community.[109] This suggestion is highly persuasive, but there is another aspect too to be considered. The involvement of all persons in the expulsion of one member of the group helps to reconstitute that group, and this fits in well with the general meaning of the Thargelia.

After chasing the scapegoats over the border people probably returned without looking back, as was the rule in the case of purificatory offerings.[110] A prohibition on looking back is typical for the moment of separation: as with the wife of Lot from Sodom, and in modern Greek folklore the bride when leaving the parental home. Persons who are looking back still have a tie with what is lying behind them; the prohibition therefore is a radical cut with all connections with the past. It is, to use the terminology of Van Gennep, a typical rite of separation. By not looking back the citizens definitively cut through all connections with the scapegoat.[111]

1–9 at 5–8; D. Baudy, *Römische Umgangsriten: eine ethologische Untersuchung der Funktion von Wiederholung fur religiöses Verhalten* (Berlin and New York, 1998).

[108] D. Fehling, *Ethologisch Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (Munich, 1974) 59–82; M. Gras, "Cité grecque et lapidation," in *Du châtiment dans la cité* (Rome, 1984) 75–89.

[109] Fehling, *ibidem*, 72f.

[110] Aesch. *Cho.* 98; cf. Keramopoullos, *Apotympanismos*, 116.

[111] See also this volume, Chapter VII.

3.5. *The final fate*

The final fate of the scapegoats has, understandably, fascinated (and divided) scholarly opion. According to some they were killed, according to others not, and Nilsson even stated that this was a matter of indifference, since in both cases the goal—the expulsion from the community—was reached. This is of course true, but does not solve the problem. We will therefore once again look at the evidence in a systematic way.

We start with Abdera. Until 1934 it was commonly believed that in this city the scapegoat was stoned to death, since this was reported by our only source, Ovid (*Ibis* 467–68 with scholion). In 1934, however, a papyrus with a fragment of Callimachus (fr. 90) was published, which stated unequivocally that the scapegoat was chased over the border with stones but certainly not killed.

We meet a similar dicrepancy in Massilia where the scapegoat was expelled from the city according to Petronius (fr. 1),[112] but according to later scholia (on Statius *Theb.* 10.793) was stoned to death. In Leukas the criminal was, it is true, thrown from a rock, but birds and feathers were fastened to him to soften his fall and in the sea boats were waiting for him to pick him up and transport him over the border. The other source which reports the hurling from a rock speaks of a sacrifice. In Athens the scapegoats were expelled over the border in historical times, but in the aetiological myth the scapegoat was killed. Finally, the scapegoats in the romance of Iamboulos were put into boats, of which it is explicitly said that they were seaworthy (Diod. Sic. 2.55.3).

When we discount the death of the scapegoats in the myths, since it is now generally accepted that the myths are not always an exact reflection of the ritual, we are left with two cases. In Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (4.10) it is described how during a plague in Ephesus Apollonius pointed to a squalid beggar and ordered him to be killed, since he was an enemy of the gods. Burkert considers the possibility of a historical background for this tale, and Apollonius is

[112] Petronius, fr. I *et sic proiciebatur*. Thus all the manuscripts, but Stephanus (who has frequently been followed), on the basis of schol. Stat. *Theb.* 10.793, emended *proiciebatur* into *praecipitabatur*, 'was hurled from a height'. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, 253 note 2, however, already noted that this change was not supported by the textual tradition, and the recent editions of Servius, our source for Petronius' fragment, and Petronius have both returned to *proiciebatur*. For *proicio*, 'to cast out of a city', see Cic. *Cat.* 2.2 *quod (urbs) tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit*; Ov. *Met.* 15.504 *immeritumque pater proiecit ab urbe*.

indeed often connected with plague epidemics;[113] yet the passage looks rather novellistic.[114] The eyes of the beggar are full of fire and after his death his body has disappeared. In its place a dog is found as big as the biggest lion. Although this story follows the scapegoat pattern—this is clear and has often been recognized—the event can hardly be considered historical.

The only case left to be discussed is the death of the scapegoat in Hipponax. This death has been much debated, even though our evidence points to a clear solution. Wherever we have a good picture of the historical events, as in Abdera, Athens, Leukas, and Massilia, it appears certain that the scapegoat was not killed but expelled. When we confront this conclusion with Hipponax, our inference can hardly be otherwise than that Hipponax also has derived his description of the scapegoat's end from an aetiological myth of a legendary version, if it is not his own invention—a possibility which is not at all improbable. An alternative solution, however, is also not completely impossible. The burning of the scapegoat on 'wild' wood, which is not mentioned in any of the Hipponax fragments, may be Tzetzes' own invention.[115] Should this be the case, the burning probably derived from the ritual of the Locrian maidens, since a description of this ritual immediately follows the one of the *pharmakos* (*Chil.* 5.738ff.). But whichever solution we choose, in either case our conclusion must be that the *pharmakos* stayed alive.

The Greeks then expelled a living scapegoat as did, e.g., the Hittites. For this expulsion we also have a hitherto neglected parallel from Tibet which shows a striking resemblance with the Greek ritual—the occasion of the performance around New Year, the selection of a lowerclass person who is treated as very special,[116] the unharmonious music, the stoning—as appears from the following description:

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[113] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 70. For plague epidemics and Apollonius, see E.L. Bowie, "Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and reality," *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 1652–99 at 1687.

[114] G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius van Tyana und das Neue Testament* (Leiden, 1970) 126–27; D. Esser, *Formgeschichtliche Studien zur hellenistischen und zur frühchristlichen Literatur unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vita Apollonii des Philostrat und der Evangelien* (Diss. Bonn, 1969) 59 suggests an "aetiologischer Lokallegende".

[115] Koster on Tzetzes Ar. *Ra.* 733a notes Tzetzes' careless handling of the sources in this specific case; Gebhard, *Die Pharmakoi*, 3ff.; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 184.

[116] The person selected is often a beggar: G. Tucci and W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei* (Stuttgart, 1970) 197.

> At Gyanese, the person selected to act as the scapegoat is fed and clothed at State expense for a year previous to the ceremony. On the appointed day (just before New Year) with a bloody sheepskin bound round his head, yak's entrails hung round his neck, but otherwise naked, he takes his position in the local Jong, or Fort. In his right hand he carries a fresh sheep's liver, his left being empty. After blasts from long trumpets, beating of drums, clashing of cymbals, and incantations by the officiating lamas, the scapegoat scratches the ground with a stick, to indicate that the season of ploughing and sowing is at hand, flings the sheep's liver among the crowd, and rushes down the hill on to the plain below. The people fling after him stones and dirt, taking, however, great care not to wound him severely, or prevent him from reaching the open country. Should the scapegoat not succeed in making good his escape, the devils would remain in the place. Shots from the prong guns fired into the air increase the pandemonium that accompanies his flight, in the midst, once he has reached the plain, the lamas perform a solemn dance of triumph, concluding by burning *torma* offerings.[117]

If, however, the scapegoat was only expelled in historical reality, why do the mythical tales often speak of a killing? In our analysis we have repeatedly shown that the myth clarified the meaning of the ritual. Symbolic acts in the ritual became reality in the myth.[118] This will also have been the case with the scapegoats. The expulsion of the scapegoats in practice amounted to a killing, since, like the dead, they disappeared from the community, never to return. In a way, therefore, Nilsson was right in considering death and expulsion as having the same effect. However, we may wonder whether the historical scapegoats will have shared his academic indifference as regards choosing between these two modes!

3.6. *The Thargelia*

What was the place of the scapegoat ritual in the Greek religious calendar? The scapegoats were probably expelled on the sixth of the month Thargelion, the first day of the two-day festival of the Thargelia.[119] It is rather surprising to note that on the same day that the scapegoats

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[117] D. Macdonald, *The Land of the Lama* (London, 1929) 213f.

[118] Cf. Graf, "The Locrian Maidens," 255–6 on a similar discrepancy: "The myth presented the ritual with unrelieved harshness, extrapolating so to speak from the actual events to their significance as perceived by those experiencing them."

[119] For the Thargelia see M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Munich, 1906) 105–15; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 179–98; C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire Athénien* (Lausanne, 1996^2) 308–19; Parker, *Polytheism*, 481–3.

were expelled the Greeks also celebrated the fall of Troy,[120] the victories at Marathon and Plataea, and even the victory of Alexander the Great over Darius (Ael. *VH*. 2.25). Evidently, the expulsion of evil was felt so intensely that this seemed to be the appropriate day to celebrate these victories.

On the second day of the Thargelia a first-fruit sacrifice was celebrated and a kind of May tree, the *eirêsione*, was carried around.[121] Choirs of men and boys competed in singing hymns,[122] and we know of the Thargelia in Miletus that large amounts of undiluted wine and expensive food were consumed. The *eirêsione* and the first-fruit sacrifice are typical signs of seasonal renewal: the first signs of coming prosperity after the scarceness of the winter period. There is a large amount of ethnological material showing that the beginning of a new year—which often coincides with a first-fruit festival—or the arrival of a period of plenty is often celebrated with an *orgia alimentare*: people take an advance on the new harvest.[123] From a psychological point of view the 'orgy' is a kind of collective relaxation by the community, which for a while need not worry any more about the often precarious food situation. In Greece the exceptional character of the meal was stressed by the drinking of undiluted wine, for in normal circumstances wine was always diluted with water.[124]

Since the Thargelia was a festival for Apollo we may expect that the god also shows a connection with seasonal renewal. Such a connection seems indeed to exist. According to Theophrastus (fr. 119), the Thargelia in Athens was the festival of Apollo Delius. The main festival of Apollo Delius, the Delia, was a festival of seasonal renewal and was connected with the growth of the adolescents.[125] This coincides to a large degree with the festival of the Thargelia where, as we have

[120] Damastes *FGrH* 5 F 7; Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 152a.

[121] W. Klinger, "L'irésione grecque et ses transformations posterieures," *Eos* 29 (1926) 157–74 (with interesting Caucasian material); S. Follet, *RPh* 48 (1974) 30–32 (epigraphical examples); Burkert, *Structure and History*, 134; Jameson, *A lex sacra*, 25–6; Parker, *Polytheism*, 204–6.

[122] P. Wilson, "Performance in the *Pythion*: The Athenian Thargelia," in idem (ed.), *The Greek Theatre and Festivals* (Oxford, 2007) 150–82.

[123] V. Lanternari, *La grande festa* (Bari, 1976²) passim; add Gregory of Tours, *VP* 6.2.

[124] For the opposition of mixed and neat wine, see F. Graf, "Milch, Honig und Wein," in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980) 209–21; add Bremmer, *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 295 note 49 and "Marginalia Manichaica," 32f.

[125] Calame, *Choruses*, 104–10.

seen, seasonal renewal and boys also played an important role. Apollo Delius will thus have been chosen because of the similarity between the Delia and the Thargelia.[126]

This study has thus shown that the expulsion of the scapegoat in the religious calendar preceded a day of seasonal renewal. A similar structure could also be found in Tibet (§ 7) and in Rome where the ancient New Year (the first of March) was preceded by a month full of purificatory rituals. The same alternation could still be found in the carnival rites of Western Europe where at the beginning of the year society expelled all kinds of evil.[127] The pattern is fully understandable: no new beginning before a complete *katharsis* of the old situation. This applies of course to the fixed date of the Thargelia as well as to special occasions when a new beginning had to be established after the disturbance of the seasonal and cosmic order through drought or plague. However, it remains enigmatic why the Greeks had to use a human being, whereas the Hittites sometimes and the Israelites always found an animal sufficient. Evidently, to be more civilized does not always mean to be more humane.

4. *The early Christians*

Did the Greek scapegoat ritual and its reflection in the tragedies of Euripides eventually also influence the birth of the early Christian idea of atonement?[128] A pagan origin of this central Christian notion was strongly argued by Henk Versnel, then Leiden professor of Ancient History, in a two-page article, entitled *Heil uit de Heidenen* ('Salvation Comes From the Pagans'), in the Protestant Dutch daily *Trouw* of April 4, 1992, only two weeks before Easter. According to him, the Jewish tradition does not furnish any real notices of an effective death, but relevant parallels occur only in the contemporary, pagan mentality of the first two centuries AD, where we find the widespread conviction that the sacrifice of one's own life can have *in general* (Versnel's emphasis) a

[126] For Apollo Delius and the Thargelia see now A. Matthaiou, "*Apollôn Dêlios en Athênais*," in D. Jordan and J. Traill (eds.), *Lettered Attica: A Day of Attic Epigraphy* (Athens and Toronto, 2003) 85–93; Wilson, "Performance in the *Pythion*," 175–82.

[127] E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval de Romans* (Paris, 1979) 342–44.

[128] For an influence of the scapegoat ritual see also J.K.B. Maclean, "Barabbas, the Scapegoat Ritual, and the Development of the Passion Narrative," *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 100 (2007) 309–34.

salvific, meaningful function.[129] For the following days and weeks, the newspaper published a number of reactions by theologians and laymen, but the most detailed response was published in the Christian weekly *Hervormd Nederland* by Henk Jan de Jonge, then Leiden professor of New Testament Studies. On the basis of the prayer of Azariah in *Daniel* 3, chapters 6 and 7 of *II Maccabees*, and a passage in the *Assumption of Moses* he argued that a Jewish background adequately explains the origin of the Christian idea of atonement.[130] This fascinating debate still is the best contemporary exchange of arguments about the origin of the Christian ideas on atonement. That is why we will take it as our point of departure in an investigation as to whether Greek ideas played a role in the rise of the idea of atonement. After some introductory observations on the New Testament (§ 4.1), we first take a look at the earlier Jewish evidence for a vicarious death (§ 4.2), then at the role played by contemporary society as argued by Versnel (§ 4.3), and we conclude with *IV Maccabees* (§ 4.4), which is often adduced in contemporary discussions of the birth of the notion of atonement.

4.1. *The New Testament*

Let us start with the founder of Christianity himself. There is no evidence that Jesus himself mentioned any vicarious function of his death, and the words ascribed to him by *Mark* (10.45) that he came "to give his life a ransom for many" perhaps are not an authentic Jesus logion, although not all New Testament scholars would subscribe to that view.[131] In any case, it was especially Paul who promoted the idea of atonement to the centre of Christian theology. If we take a closer look at the literature of the first Christians, though, we soon realise that they did not interpret the execution of Jesus as a vicarious death

[129] Versnel's original article (7–14), the reactions (15–47) and his reply (48–56) have been reprinted in L. Hoogerwerf (ed.), *Het hek is van de dam* (Amsterdam, 1992). Versnel has now restated his views in "Making Sense of Jesus' Death. The Pagan Contribution," in J. Frey and J. Schröter (eds.), *Deutungen des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2005) 213–94, in which he also discusses more recent contributions to the subject. I will mainly refer to this article in my discussion of Versnel's views.

[130] For De Jonge's article, Versnel's reaction and De Jonge's rejoinder see *Hervormd Nederland* 48 (1992) no. 16, 18 and 19, respectively. All references to De Jonge are to these two contributions.

[131] W. Zager, "Wie kam es im Urchristentum zur Deutung des Todes Jesu als Sühnegeschehen?," *ZNW* 87 (1996) 165–86; J.W. van Henten, "Jewish Martyrdom and Jesus' Death," in Frey and Schröter, *Deutungen des Todes Jesu*, 139–68 at 146 note 28.

for our sins in a monolithic way. In the New Testament we can discern at least two approaches: these draw on different traditions with rather different theological aims.

First, the terminology relating to Jesus' death sometimes employs the root **hilask*, 'to atone', the Septuagint translation of Hebrew *kipper*, as in *Romans* 3.25, *Hebrews* 2.7 and above all *1 John* 2.2. This usage is related to the cult of the Temple, in particular to the sacrifice of the High priest on the Day of Atonement.[132] Second, in Pauline soteriology we find the formula 'Christ (he) died for us' or 'he died for our sins'. It is probable that the reception of this expression by Paul cannot be separated from the suffering of the righteous man in order to bear the iniquities of many, as in *Isaiah* 53, a chapter that almost certainly lies in the background of at least *1 Corinthians* 15.3. Echoes from *Isaiah* 53 can also be found in Paul's views on our reconciliation with God by Jesus in *2 Corinthians* 5.18–20 and *Romans* 5.1, 10–11. But even if *Isaiah* 53 inspired Paul, it is generally agreed that he did not derive the 'dying-for-us/many' formula from this enigmatic chapter.[133] Recent studies also agree that Paul did not invent the formula: he found it among, or heard it from, other Christians. This must mean that this particular interpretation dates already to the years shortly after Jesus' death, perhaps already to the thirties AD.[134] Where or how did the early Christians encounter the formula? It does not occur in the Old Testament, but one cannot exclude *a priori* the possibility that they found this formula in their own religious tradition. Yet is this likely? Let us take a closer look at the three testimonies, which De Jonge put forward in order to support his case.

4.2. *The Jewish evidence*

The historically latest piece of evidence adduced by De Jonge is the *Assumption of Moses*, which he dates to the first half of the first century

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[132] M. Hengel, *The Atonement* (London, 1981) 50–1; Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 197–206.

[133] For the influence of this chapter see now B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher (eds.), *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids, 2004).

[134] The formula is found, implicitly or explicitly, in *Romans* 5.6, 8 and 14.9, 15; 1 *Corinthians* 1.13, 8.11, 15.3; 2 *Corinthians* 5.14, 15, 21; *Galatians* 3.13; 1 *Thessalonians* 5.10. See now for a judicious review of recent discussions, C. Breytenbach, "'Christus starb für uns'. Zur Tradition und paulinischen Rezeption der sogenannten 'Sterbeformeln'," *New. Test. Stud.* 49 (2003) 447–75.

AD.[135] Its chapter 9 relates the story of Taxo and his seven sons, who will withdraw into a grotto and, presumably, find there a violent death. Then God "will rise, and he will manifest himself in order to punish the nations" (10.7) and "make you (Israel) live in the heaven of the stars, the place of his habitation" (10.9–10). The text is not very elaborate, and it is hard not to conclude that the author "perhaps, has hinted at the idea of vicarious propitiation, although this is not clear".[136] Moreover, there are no signs that Paul or other New Testament authors knew or drew upon this story. On the other hand, it seems clear that the author drew upon *II Maccabees*, but only regarding the strict obedience to the Jewish laws,[137] not in respect of a vicarious, atoning death.[138]

The second witness adduced by De Jonge is *II Maccabees* 6 and 7. The idea of a atoning death seems at least *in nuce* present in the accounts of the deaths of Eleazar and of a mother with her seven sons. Particularly suggestive in this respect are the words of the youngest son:

> I, like my brothers, give up body and life for the laws of our ancestors, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nation and by trials and plagues to make you confess that he alone is God, and through (ἐν) me and my brothers to bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty that has justly fallen on our whole nation.[139]

The author of *II Maccabees*, it is clear, deliberately intended to stress the importance of this prayer, since the next chapter describes the *Wende* in the Maccabean revolt and the successes of Judas and his followers. After the victory against Nicanor "they made common supplication and implored the merciful Lord to be wholly reconciled (*katallagênai*) with his servants" (8.29).

Unfortunately, there is no way that we can be certain about the exact time of origin of this story. In the present form of *II Maccabees* chapters

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[135] For the date ("ersten Drittel des 1.Jh.n.Chr.") see now N.J. Hofmann, *Die* Assumptio Mosis. *Studien zur Rezeption massgültiger Überlieferung* (Leiden, 2000) 329. For text and translation see J. Tromp, *The* Assumption of Moses. *A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden, 1993).

[136] J. Priest, "Testament of Moses," in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* I (London, 1983) 919–34 at 923.

[137] Hofmann, *Die* Assumptio Mosis, 245–57.

[138] Similarly Versnel, "Making Sense," 267–9; differently, D.G. Powers, *Salvation through Participation* (Leuven, 2001) 211–18.

[139] *II Maccabees* 7.37–8. Versnel, "Making Sense," 259 states that ἐν "can only mean something like '*togethe*r with me who dies for the law' (= at this moment that I die for the law)," but its instrumental usage is well attested, cf. *LSJ* s.v. III and *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 2 (1935) 536; Powers, *Salvation through Participation*, 201f.

6 and 7 are well integrated, but the suspicion remains that originally these chapters did not belong to the source, the unabridged work by Jason of Cyrene.[140] Their influence on the *Assumption of Moses*, however, shows that they probably predate the beginning of our era.

The final witness is the prayer of Azariah, one of the three companions of Daniel, in the Septuagint version of *Daniel* (3.38–40), where in the fiery furnace Azariah prays to God:

> May we be accepted with contrite soul and humbled spirit,
> just as with holocausts of rams and bulls
> and just as with ten thousands of fat lambs,
> May so our sacrifice be before You today,
> And let Yourself be atoned behind You.[141]

In this prayer, which probably dates to the times of the revolt against Antiochus IV, the inspiration clearly derives from the cultic sacrifices in the Temple of Jerusalem. It should be noted, though, that this particular case was brought about by an emergency situation. The three youths offered themselves, as the Temple was no longer available for the performance of proper sacrifices, on account of its desecration by the Seleucid king. There is no reference to a vicarious or atoning sacrifice here.[142]

What may we conclude from these texts? De Jonge is perhaps right in saying that the idea of a vicarious, atoning death was not wholly unknown in Jewish tradition. If we have correctly interpreted *II Maccabees* 7.37–8 (above), it seems to have arisen during or in the aftermath of the Maccabean revolt: a perfectly understandable time of origin. On the other hand, Versnel cannot be faulted in stressing that none of these passages clearly refers to a vicarious (atoning) sacrifice.[143] Moreover, the Maccabean martyrs also die for their own sins (7.18, 32), which hardly fits a proper *Sühnopfertheologie*.[144] Even though De Jonge has proved his point to a certain extent, he subsequently runs into great trouble. As he

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[140] See most recently Versnel, "Making Sense," 263–7. For the date and provenance of *II Maccabees* see now J.W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People* (Leiden, 1997) 50–56.

[141] Unfortunately, the text of this passage is not certain, cf. Powers, *Salvation through Participation*, 221f. For a possible explanation of the last line see J.W. van Henten and F. Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death* (London and New York, 2002) 61.

[142] Thus, rightly, Versnel, "Making Sense," 269–73.

[143] Versnel, "Making Sense," 278f.

[144] As is observed by H.-J. Klauck, *4 Makkabäerbuch = Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* III.6 (Gütersloh, 1989) 670.

honestly admits, the Christian interpretation did not draw directly on any of these three texts. To escape from this *cul-de-sac*, he suggests that the adduced passages were only the tip of an invisible iceberg within the Jewish tradition. We may safely assume, according to De Jonge, a widespread discussion of the subject of the atoning death of a few for many.[145] Needless to say, there is no evidence for this suggestion.[146]

We can perhaps go further and suggest that it is even improbable that the early Christians would have drawn on this particular tradition. The passage in *Daniel* seems too much determined by the particular circumstances of its time of origin to be a likely source of inspiration for later periods. Regarding *II Maccabees*, Eleazar is prepared to die for the revered and holy laws" (6.28); the youths stress that they are prepared to die for the "laws of our forefathers" (7.37); and Judas encourages his soldiers to be ready "to die for their laws and their country" (8.21). Similarly, in the *Assumption of Moses*, Taxo rather prefers to die than to "transgress the commandments of the Lord of Lords, the God of our fathers" (9.6). Clearly, these martyrs were highly motivated by their adherence to the ancestral institutions of the Jews.[147] And though we have perhaps become less certain in our pronunciations regarding Jesus' attitude towards the Halakah and Torah,[148] it remains highly improbable that the earliest Christians would have felt particularly attracted to this specific tradition.

There remains one final problem. De Jonge continuously speaks of one tradition, but the companions of Daniel and the Maccabean martyrs can hardly be reduced to one common stream. The *Daniel* passage drew its inspiration from the Temple cult, but this is clearly not the case with *II Maccabees*. Can we make any progress regarding the latter case? The problem has studied in depth by Van Henten, who has looked for examples of vicarious death both in the Greek and Jewish tradition. He admits that an influence of the tragedies of Euripides is possible, but

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[145] De Jonge: "De drie plaatsen zijn slechts de min of meer toevallig bewaarde uitlopers op schrift van een daarachter schuilgaand, niet meer waarneembaar, maar veilig te veronderstellen, veelvuldig spreken over verzoenend sterven van enkelingen voor velen".

[146] Similarly, Versnel, "Making Sense," 273 note 231.

[147] Cf. H.G. Kippenberg, "Die jüdischen überlieferungen als *patrioi nomoi*," in R. Faber and R. Schlesier (eds.), *Die Restauration der Götter* (Würzburg, 1986) 45–60 and *Die vorderasiatischen Erlösungsreligionen in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der antiken Stadtherrschaft* (Frankfurt, 1991) 179–217.

[148] Cf. I. Boer (ed.), *Jesus und das jüdische Gesetz* (Stuttgart, 1992).

also thinks of Jewish examples of a non-cultic reconciliation with God, such as the offer of Moses to reascend Mt Sinai in order to reconcile the people with God after their worship of a golden calf (*Exodus* 32.30–4) and the murder by Pinehas of an Israelite and his Midianitish woman after Israel "began to have sexual relations with the women of Moab" (*Numeri* 25).[149] These cases, though, do not speak of a vicarious death, and that is why a Greek inspiration deserves a closer attention.

We know that Greek tragedy was very popular in third-century BC Egypt. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–47) organized a circle of seven tragic poets, the 'Pleiad', of whom at least some were connected to the Museum: Alexander Aitolos was in charge of collecting the texts of the tragedians, Lycophron those of comedy. Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–05) himself even wrote a tragedy, *Adonis* (*TGrF* 119). The numerous surviving names of authors and lists of titles indicate an interest in tragedy that lasted well into the Roman period.[150] Among the tragedians, Euripides remained very popular, as can also be seen from the *Exagôge* of the Jewish tragedian Ezekiel, whose play is, "both in small points of phraseology and style and in the larger realm of dramatic technique and structure, much influenced by Euripides".[151] Our evidence is scanty, but Ezekiel shows that some Jews in the time of the Maccabees did not consider Greek tragedy unacceptable.

Although periodic festival games are not explicitly attested in pre-Roman times, Fergus Millar has argued that "it is however to be assumed that they took place, bearing in mind the general character of the age".[152] As Palestine was ruled for more than a century by the Ptolemies, Jerusalem had a gymnasium and an *ephebeion* (*II Maccabees* 4.9), and since the theatre was very popular in the Greek world, it is hard to believe that Palestine never saw the performance of a tragedy in the time of the Maccabees; after all, a theatre even existed in the Greek city of Aï Khanoum in Afghanistan.[153] Van Henten himself has

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[149] Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 145 (Euripides), 161 (golden calf, Pinehas).

[150] Cf. M. Parca, *Ptocheia, or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy* (Atlanta, 1991) 96–112 (with extensive bibliographies).

[151] H. Jacobson, *The* Exagoge *of Ezekiel* (Cambridge, 1983) 23. For the many Euripidean echoes in the text see now also the commentary by P. Lanfranchi, *L'*Exagoge *d'Ezéchiel le Tragique* (Leiden, 2006).

[152] F. Millar, in E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* II (Edinburgh, 1979) 44.

[153] For the nature and the degree of Jewish acculturation in the time of the Maccabees see also the interesting reflections of E. Will and C. Orrieux, *Ioudaïsmos-hellènismos: essai sur le judaïsme judéen à l'époque hellénistique* (Nancy, 1986) 120–36.

pointed to the resemblance between the suicides of Razis (*II Maccabees* 14) and Menoeceus in Euripides' tragedy *Phoenissae*, both of whom first wound themselves before throwing themselves down the walls of their cities.[154] The Athenian funeral orations,[155] which are also adduced by Van Henten,[156] enjoyed far less popularity in later antiquity than tragedy, as the scarcity of papyri shows. As Euripides is the one author in whose tragedies dying for the good of the people plays an important role[157] and the dramatist whose work was widely performed and read during the Hellenistic and Roman periods,[158] an inspiration from his tragedies seems more than likely.

In fact, the pagan philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, who worked in the last decades of the third century AD, had already noted:

> For to say in accordance with the doctrine of the Church that he (Jesus) gave himself up for the remission of our sins has a certain plausibility in the eyes of the many because of historical parallels: in Greek history, where we often read about people giving themselves up in order to save their cities; also Jewish history, which prepares the son of Abraham for being sacrificed to God, contains an example of such a tale.[159]

We would not be far wrong when we see the tragedies of Euripides behind those 'historical parallels', given the prominence of the theme in his influential oeuvre.

4.3. *Vicarious sacrifice in contemporary society*

As we have seen, Versnel does not look for Paul's inspiration in the Jewish tradition but in the mentality of the pagan society of the first two

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[154] Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 145f.

[155] For the genre see now K. Prinz, *Epitaphios Logos: Struktur, Funktion und Bedeutung der Bestattungsreden im Athen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1997).

[156] Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 214–7.

[157] For Euripides see this chapter, note 40.

[158] H. Kuch, "Zum Euripides-Rezeption im Hellenismus," *Klio* 60 (1978) 191–202; J.M. Bremer, "The Popularity of Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Late Antiquity," in *Actes du VII^e Congrès de la F.I.E.C.* I (Budapest, 1983) 281–8; W. Luppe, "Literarische Texte: Drama," *Arch. f. Papyrusf.* 37 (1991) 77–91 at 78–86. In general: G. Heldmann, "Die griechische und lateinische Tragödie und Komödie in der Kaiserzeit," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* 24 (2000) 185–205; A. Seeberg, "Tragedy and Archaeology, Forty Years After," *Bull Inst. Class. Stud.* 46 (2002–2003) 43–75.

[159] Alexander of Lycopolis, *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, 24.36, tr. P.W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism* (Leiden, 1974) 84; see now A. Villey, *Alexandre de Lycopolis: Contre la doctrine de Mani* (Paris, 1985) 16–19 (pagan), 20–22 (date).

centuries AD.[160] Although he recognises the prominence of the theme of vicarious death in Euripides,[161] he has also argued that after so many centuries an influence from drama is unlikely.[162] His recent discussion of the early Christian views of Jesus' death is the latest of a series of learned articles in which he has collected and charted the theme of vicarious death in Greek, Hellenistic and Roman culture.[163] Yet there are various reasons why I hesitate to follow him in this particular case. We shall therefore take a closer look at the chronology, geography and content of the material adduced by Versnel in support of his case.

Versnel's crown witness is the *devotio pro principe*, the phenomenon that soldiers or private persons were willing to sacrifice their life for the health of the Roman emperor. This phenomenon gained weight with Augustus and his successors. The Senate, the army and the Roman people now publicly declared that the salvation of the state and its people depended on the well-being of the emperor. The development may be clearly discerned in the adulatory gestures of some Romans who, as Suetonius tells us in his biography of Caligula, "even vowed to fight as gladiators, and others posted placards offering their lives, if the ailing prince were spared" (c. 14, tr. J.C. Rolfe). There can be no doubt, then, that the phenomenon of vicarious sacrifice existed in the first century AD.[164]

Yet none of the examples adduced by Versnel takes place outside the immediate Roman world and none takes place during the rule of Augustus or Tiberius.[165] His only example outside Rome, which is hardly contemporary, concerns Antony, Cleopatra and a group of

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[160] See the conclusion of Versnel, "Making Sense," 287–94.

[161] Versnel, "Making Sense," 234–6.

[162] Versnel, "Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? Bemerkungen über die Herkunft von Aspekten des 'effective death'," in B. Dehandschutter and J.W. Van Henten (eds.), *Die Entsthehung der jüdischen Martyrologie* (Leiden, 1989) 162–96 at 189–90; "Jezus Soter—Neos Alkestis? Over de niet-joodse achtergrond van een christelijke doctrine," *Lampas* 22 (1989) 219–42 at 232 and "Making Sense," 224.

[163] H.S. Versnel, "Destruction, *devotio* and despair in a situation of anomy: the mourning for Germanicus in triple perspective," in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980) 541–618; "Self-sacrifice, compensation and the anonymous gods"; "Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis?" and "Jezus Soter—Neos Alkestis?".

[164] Versnel, "Making Sense," 244–53.

[165] The exception is the vow of a *tribunus plebis*, who "devoted" himself, 'in the Iberian manner', to Augustus in 27 BC (Dio 53.20). In this case the *devotio* derives explicitly from the custom of Iberian warriors of sacrificing their life for their general and cannot be adduced as an example of a Roman mentality, *contra* Versnel, "Making Sense," 251–2, 282 note 264, who adduces the case of Caligula as parallel, but that is half a century later. For the Iberian custom see F. Greenland, "Devotio Iberica

friends, who called themselves *Synapothanoumenoi*, a title probably derived from a Greek comedy about two lovers who, presumably, were going to die together but were saved in the nick of time. It seems important to note that Antony and Cleopatra derived their inspiration from Greek drama, in view of the fact that Versnel considers this unlikely in the case of the early Christians. In any case, this one example of Versnel is not "indicative of a general tendency of this period".[166]

Whereas the rise to power of the Roman emperor clearly lies at the background of the *devotio pro principe*, this can hardly be the case for another group of examples adduced by Versnel. A poem in the *Greek Anthology* (7.691) celebrates a woman who has given her life for her husband as the 'new Alcestis'. Unfortunately, neither author nor date of this poem is known, but the theme recurs in other epitaphs of the first and/or second century AD. An epigram of Odessos praises a woman with the words: "But now instead of me she is dead and has fame and praise, like Alcestis",[167] and a series of 16 bilingual Greek and Latin epigrams in a grotto in Sardinia, dating to the late first century or even Hadrianic times,[168] immortalize a woman who had died for her ill husband, as "greater than Alcestis".[169] Moreover, the popularity of Alcestis in this period is illustrated by her frequent occurrence on sarcophagi and the fact that the second-century Aelian (*VH* 14.45) calls Alcestis one of the three Greek women deserving unqualified praise.[170]

Once again, the theme is hardly to be explained without the direct or indirect influence of Euripides' tragedy *Alcestis*,[171] which was already

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and the Manipulation of Ancient History to Suit Spain's Mythic Nationalist Past," *Greece&Rome* 53 (2006) 235–51.

[166] Antony: Plut. *Ant*. 71. Greek drama: plays with the title *Synapothnêiskontes* are attested for Alexis (fr. 213–5) and Diphilus (Test. 12 with Kassel and Austin); they were used by Plautus in his *Commemorientes*, cf. Terence *Ad*. 6 (prol.). *Contra*: Versnel, "Making Sense," 283 note 268, who misquotes the name of the group and unpersuasively disputes the connection with Greek comedy, cf. C. Pelling, *Plutarch: Life of Antony* (Cambridge, 1988) 295f.

[167] W.M. Calder III, "The Alkestis inscription from Odessos: IGBR I^2 222," *Am. J. Arch.* 79 (1975) 80–3.

[168] For the date see now G. Marginesu, "Le iscrizioni greche della Sardegna: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee," *L'Africa romana* 14 (2002) 1806–26 at 1815–18.

[169] W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin, 1955) 2005.22–31 (cf. E. Magnelli, "Notes on Four Greek Verse Inscriptions," *ZPE* 160 (2007) 37–41 at 37–8) = P. Cugusi, *Carmina Latina epigraphica provinciae Sardiniae* (Bologna, 2003) no. 6.58–67 (= *CIL* X 7577).

[170] Versnel, "Making Sense," 240–1; add now L. Parker, "Alcestis: Euripides to Ted Hughes," *Greece&Rome* 50 (2003) 1–30.

[171] In his discussion of my original version of this section, Versnel, "Making Sense," 283, rhetorically asks: "Would all the authors (historians, moralists and novelists), artisans

popular on South Italian funeral vases and would remain so well into the imperial period.[172] Juvenal (6.652–3) mentions that women watched performances of the Alcestis story, and Lucian (*Salt.* 52) reports that the story was a subject for pantomime. The stage, however, was not operating in a social vacuum. From the first century BC onwards, the Roman and, in its wake, Greek upper-class experienced a gradual development from a conjugal relationship without emotional bonds to a kind of affectionate family.[173] It is perhaps through this development that the Alcestis story struck a powerful chord among some men and women of the elite. Yet on most of the sarcophagi there is no reference to her husband, and the presence of Alcestis signifies rather 'return from the dead' than 'vicarious death',[174] and in the Sardinian epigram the deceased woman is said to surpass not only Alcestis but also Penelope, Euadne and Laodamia. In other words, the reference is rather to 'spousal love' than to 'vicarious death'.[175]

Admittedly, an example of a closer relationship between husband and wife can also be found in the Greek novel. In Achilles Tatius' second-century *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the heroine Leucippe writes to her beloved Clitophon:

> for you I left my mother and took up the life of a wanderer; for you I suffered shipwreck and fell into the hands of pirates; for you I became a victim for sacrifice and an expiatory sacrifice (*katharmos*) and twice entered the valley of the shadows of death (5.18, tr. S. Gaselee).

Versnel rightly draws attention to this passage,[176] but here too Greek drama may lie in the background. The Greek novelists regularly refer to their narratives, to the plots, actions, and characters that comprise them, in terms of the theatre. The metaphorical application of terms

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and women who used the Alcestis theme of necessity have attended a performance of the Euripidean drama?" As is clear from what I wrote ("without the direct or indirect influence"), I did not claim such universal attendance of the Euripidean play.

[172] H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum* (Mainz, 1981) 19, 53, 113; P. Zanker and B. Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (Munich, 2003) 100.

[173] P. Veyne (ed.), *Histoire de la vie privée* I (Paris, 1985) 45–59 and *La société romaine* (Paris, 1991) 88–130 (= *Annales ESC* 33, 1978, 35–63); A. Rousselle, "Gestes et signes de la famille dans l'Empire romain," in A. Burgière *et al.* (eds.), *Histoire de la famille* I (Paris, 1986) 231–69.

[174] M. Schmidt, "Alcestis," in *LIMC* 1 (1981) 533–44.

[175] For the assimilation of female deceased to loving mythological heroines see P. Grandinetti, "Gli epigrammi delta Grotta delle Vipere a Cagliari: confronti per l'assimilazione al mito," *L'Africa romana* 14 (2002) 1757–70 (cf. *SEG* 52.942).

[176] Versnel, "Making Sense," 242.

drawn from the stage is also apparent in those rare instances in which a narrator refers to his narrative as a whole: for example, Achilles Tatius refers to his romance as *tou pantos dramatos* (8.15), and the Byzantine critics frequently employed the term 'drama' to refer to the novel.[177] So once again we are led to think of Greek drama as an important source of inspiration.

A third group among the examples offered by Versnel is constituted by persons who died for those born under the same stars, having the same name, or being next of kin. All these examples date from the second or third century AD. This group deserves further investigation but seems not immediately relevant to our argument.[178]

We may now even wonder whether we can speak of a 'mentality' regarding these self-sacrifices. They all occur in rather different groups in society, and for rather different motives.[179] Moreover, if such a general mentality really existed, we would not have epigrams praising women for dying for their husbands. Such deaths, then, would have been perfectly normal and hardly have deserved any mention. The existence of comments on this phenomenon, on the other hand, suggests that society at large considered these examples as something special, as something falling outside the normal mentality.[180]

It is time to conclude this section. We have seen that among the examples adduced by Versnel no example of an 'effective death' of an individual for the whole of the community can be found, let alone somebody who dies 'for our sins'. Moreover, his few examples from the first century all concern the Roman emperor and his Roman subjects. No evidence has as yet been brought forward that this Roman ideology also influenced those in the subjected areas.[181] Since the interpretation of Jesus' execution as a vicarious death is already to be found in the thirties or, at the latest, in the forties of the first century, an influence of the self-sacrificial mentality postulated by Versnel is improbable.

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[177] I owe this point to Dirk Obbink; see also N. Marini, "*Drama*: possibile demonstrazione per il romanzo greco d'amore," *St. It. Filol. Class*. 84 (1991) 232–43.

[178] Versnel, "Making Sense," 242–4.

[179] *Contra* Versnel, "Making Sense," 280f.

[180] See the insightful discussion of G. Tellenbach, "Mentalität," in E. Hastujer *et al*. (eds.), *Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Clemens Bauer zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1974) 11–30.

[181] Versnel, "Making Sense," 285, cannot come further than to observe that "the imperial ideology as a thematic source of inspiration in the gospels, including the earliest one, Mark, receives much serious attention in recent research".

4.3. *IV Maccabees*

Since *IV Maccabees* plays an important role in recent discussions of the origin of the idea of the atonement, we now turn to this work. Its literary form is that of a diatribe and many of its motifs derived from the Greek *epitaphios logos*.[182] Taking its inspiration from *II Maccabees*, *IV Maccabees* relates the martyrdom of the aged Eleazar and the seven sons with their mother. But unlike its model, we now find a clear theology of an 'effective death'. Eleazar is represented as a priest from the house of Aaron and he prays:

> Be merciful to your people, and let our punishment suffice for them. Make my blood their purification (*katharsion*), and take my life in exchange (*antipsychon*) for theirs (6.28–9).

These verses cannot be separated from those in the epilogue, where the author concludes:

> These, then, who have been consecrated for the sake of God, are honoured, not only with this honour, but also by the fact that because of them our enemies did not rule over our nation, the tyrant was punished, and the homeland purified-they having become, as it were, a ransom (*antipsychon*) for the sin of our nation. And through the blood of those devout ones and their death as an atoning sacrifice (*hilastêriou*), divine Providence preserved Israel that had previously mistreated (17.20–22).

Once again we can distinguish a Jewish and Greek background in these words and ideas. The purification with blood refers to the Old Testament expiatory sacrifice where blood had to be put on the altar (*Leviticus* 4), whereas the *hilastêriou* of 17.22 suggests the mercy seat of the ark, which the High Priest had to sprinkle with blood on the Day of Atonement (*Leviticus* 16.14–5.).[183] Yet the reminiscences of the Old Testament do not explain completely the theme of vicarious death, and it will now hardly come as a surprise that, once again, recent commentators of *IV Maccabees* see here the influence of Euripides.[184] It is attractive to agree with them, although another solution seems more exciting. But before we discuss this problem, we will first take a look at the date of *IV Maccabees*.

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[182] Klauck, *4 Makkabäerbuch*, 659–62; Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 263; D.A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees. Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus* (Leiden, 2006) 80–3.

[183] Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 115f.

[184] Klauck, *ibidem*, 671; deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, 147f.

We have at least three different possibilities in dating the treatise. First, we can look at the *realia* in the text, such as datable persons or institutions. This approach was taken by Elias Bickerman in 1939, who on the basis of the names of Roman provinces derived a date somewhere between 18 and 54 AD;[185] his arguments, however, leave something to be desired. As Van Henten has shown, we can only say on the basis of an 'institutional' approach that the work was written after 72 AD when *Cilicia campestris* was reunited with *Cilicia aspera* into a single province.[186] The philosophical ideas of the author are a second possibility.[187] Unfortunately, his mixture of Peripatetic, Stoic, Cynic and Pythagorean *Gedankengut* does not allow for a certain dating. According to Jaap Mansfeld (oral communication), both the first and second century AD remain possible. Finally, we can attempt a dating on the basis of the vocabulary. This approach was taken by Breitenstein, in a careful investigation, in which he has demonstrated that the vocabulary of *IV Maccabees* is related to that of early Christian literature rather than that of the Septuagint. Moreover, quite a few words are attested only in second- or even third-century authors. As Breitenstein has also shown that the author distanced himself from the Temple and its cult,[188] it is reasonable to conclude that the treatise should be dated around AD 100.[189]

Since the idea of a vicarious death occurs both in Paul and *IV Maccabees*, two possibilities might seem to present themselves: the similarity

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[185] E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* I (Leiden, 1976) 275–81 (1939[1]), reprinted in E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition in English including* The God of the Maccabees*, introduced by Martin Hengel, edited by Amram Tropper*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2007) I.266–71. For Bickerman (1897–1981) see most recently M. Hengel, "Introduction: Elias J. Bickerman—Recollections of a Great Classical Scholar from St Petersburg," *ibidem*, xxvii–lv; A. Baumgarten, "Elias Bickerman on the Hellenizing Reformers: A Case Study of an Unconvincing Case," *Jew. Quart. Rev*. 97 (2007) 149–79.

[186] Suet. *Vesp*. 8.4, cf. Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 73–78; K. Ehling *et al*. (ed.), *Kulturbegegnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien* (Bonn, 2004) 29 (by Ehling).

[187] These have been investigated by U. Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des Vierten Makkabäerbuch* (Diss. Basel, 1976) 131–75; see now also R. Weber, "Eusebeia und Logismos. Zum philosophischen Hintergrund von IV. Makkabäer," *J. Stud. Jud*. 22 (1991) 212–34.

[188] Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 13–29 (vocabulary: but see the qualifications by deSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xvi), 171–4 (temple).

[189] DeSilva, *4 Maccabees*, xiv–xvii, and R. Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées: de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien. Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome* (Leiden, 2007) 50–2.

is either a case of 'analogy' or of 'genealogy'. The methodological problem encountered here has been discussed at length by Jonathan Smith, with his usual erudition and brilliance. He arrives at the conclusion that the *Zeitgeist* can often have a similar impact on different religions. However, when he considers the rise of an increased focus on the 'dying and rising' of the central cult figure both in Christianity and the Late Antique cults of Attis and Adonis as a case of 'analogy (possibly even of shared causality)',[190] he has evidently overlooked the fact that there was lively interchange between pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity. In a detailed analysis of the Christian *discours hagiographique*, Marc van Uytfanghe has demonstrated that Late Antiquity knew of parallel developments among Christians and pagans, but also that some pagans developed their ideas in response to and in competition with the Christians.[191] The religious situation in Late Antiquity was too complicated to have its relationships reduced (as Smith does) to either 'analogy' or 'genealogy': both categories have to be taken into account in order to understand properly the religious developments in Late Antiquity. Moreover, we have to be sensitive to the problem of competition between religions, since religions do not exist in isolation from one another but are able to reorganise themselves in the face of a strong challenge by a competitor on the market for symbolic goods. The Counter-Reformation is a good example of a phenomenon that deserves more attention than it has so far received from general historians of religion.[192]

Versnel has argued that both Paul and the author of *IV Maccabees* have arrived independently at the idea of a vicarious death, influenced as they were by the mentality of their contemporaneous society: this would thus be a case of 'analogy'.[193] On the other hand, on the basis of similarities both in vocabulary and expression, S.K. Williams has suggested that the Jewish treatise was an important source of inspiration for the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, the letters of Ignatius, Hebrews, and perhaps even some authentic letters of Paul: this would be a case of 'geneal-

[190] J.Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine* (Chicago and London, 1990) 113f.

[191] M. van Uytfanghe, "Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)," in *RAC* 14 (1987) 150–83 and "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique tardif?," *Anal. Boll.* 111 (1993) 135–88.

[192] See also my *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 52–55.

[193] Versnel, "Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis?," 192 and "Jezus Soter—Neos Alkestis?," 238.

ogy'. Unfortunately, Williams has not sufficiently distinguished between parallel passages deriving from parallel situations and real parallels.[194] When we find the theme of *hypomonê*, 'endurance', both in *IV Maccabees* (16.19) and the letters of Ignatius (*Pol.* 3.1; *Smyr.* 9.2), the parallel is generated by the situation of martyrdom, in which steadfastness is highly desired: hardly surprisingly, the quality is frequently mentioned in the Acts of the Christian martyrs.[195] Similarly, the designation of the faithful one as an athlete in *IV Maccabees* (17.16) and Ignatius (*Pol.* 2.3) derives from a general mentality which is already found in Philo and which was clearly 'produced' by the great love of athletics in the Hellenistic world.[196]

The only really interesting parallel is the word *antipsychon*, which does not occur in the Septuagint, New Testament or any other of the Apostolic Fathers, but occurs twice in *IV Maccabees* and four times in Ignatius.[197] The word acquires its full theological weight only in *IV Maccabees* and this makes the priority of the latter more probable, given that Ignatius was probably executed in the 110s AD.[198] Williams also compares *IV Maccabees* and *Hebrews*: in both writings the martyr slain (Eleazar, Jesus) is both priest and offering. As no other Jewish or Christian author before *Hebrews* makes a similar claim, the parallel, as Williams persuasively argues, can hardly be discounted. And indeed, deSilva has recently pointed to a series of verbal and conceptual parallels between *IV Maccabees* and *Hebrews*.[199] The convergence in dates between Ignatius and *Hebrews*, which is now dated to the 90s AD,[200] supports our dating of *IV Maccabees* to the end of the first century AD.[201]

Since we have already questioned the existence of a self-sacrificial mentality, as proposed by Versnel, and since Williams still departs from

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[194] *Contra* S.K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as Saving Event* (Missoula, 1975) 233–53.

[195] Bremmer, "Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions," in W. Ameling (ed.), *Märtyrer und Märtyrerakten* (Stuttgart, 2002) 77–120 at 94.

[196] Van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours*, 120, 235f.

[197] P.S. Zanetti, "Una nota ignaziana: ἀντίψυχον," in *Forma futuri. Studi in onore del cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin, 1975) 963–79.

[198] The dependence of Ignatius on *IV Maccabees* was already argued strongly by O. Perler, "Das vierte Makkabäerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Martyrberichte," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 25 (1949) 47–72.

[199] D. deSilva, *4 Maccabees* (Sheffield, 1998) 147–8 and *4 Maccabees*, xxxii–xxxiv.

[200] All recent commentaries date *Hebrews* before AD 100, cf. R.McL. Wilson (1987); H. Attridge (1987); E. Grässer (1990); H.-F. Weiss (1991).

[201] The close connection of *IV Maccabees* with the Pastoral Epistles (*1, 2 Timothy, Titus*) is another indication of this date, cf. deSilva, *4 Maccabees* (1998), 146 and *4 Maccabees* (2006), xxxii–xxxiii.

the dating proposed by Bickerman, we shall now turn to the approach which takes into account the possibility of a competition between religions. Recent studies agree that *IV Maccabees* was not written in a situation of persecution. Consequently, the question must be asked as to why a Jewish author of around AD 100 would be so interested in the themes of martyrdom, *eusebeia*, adherence to the national tradition, and vicarious death. It has been persuasively argued that the main theme of *IV Maccabees* is a response to the threat of assimilation in the Diaspora.[202] This threat must have been evident, since Jews were well integrated in many Hellenistic cities and could reach the highest posts available in local government.[203] The paradigm of martyrdom enabled the author to dramatise his message and make it attractive to the taste of his time, but why did he also develop the theme of vicarious death, which he found, at the most, only in embryonic form in his main source, *II Maccabees*? Did he perhaps aim not only at assimilated Jews but also at those sympathising with the Christians?

Chronologically, the latter possibility can no longer be excluded. We are still insufficiently informed about the period in which Jews and Christians gradually parted on their several ways,[204] but Luke's *Acts* and the letters of Ignatius (*Philad*. 6, *Magn*. 9–10) show that in various cities in Asia Minor the contacts between Jews and Christians were still close around AD 100. We can also see this encounter in early Jewish versions of the Akedah or 'binding' of Isaac, whereas later midrashic texts preclude the possibility of a vicarious atoning interpretation in order not to show up Judaism as a religion defective in comparison with Christianity.[205] Is it, then, really impossible to imagine that in the

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[202] Klauck, *4 Makkabäerbuch*, 664–5; deSilva, *4 Maccabees* (1998), 33–50.

[203] J.H.M. Strubbe, "Joden en Grieken: onverzoenlijke vijanden?," *Lampas* 22 (1989) 188–204; P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1991).

[204] For this fateful process see most recently A. Becker and A.Y. Reed (eds.), *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Tübingen, 2003); D. Boyarin, *Border Lines. The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2004); S.C. Mimouni, *Les chrétiens d'origine juive dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 2004); J. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London, 2006[2]); M. Jackson-McCabe (ed.), *Jewish Christianities* (Minneapolis, 2007); D. Jaffé, *Le Talmud et les origines juives du christianisme: Jésus, Paul et les judéo-chrétiens dans la littérature talmudique* (Paris, 2007); O. Skausanne and R. Hvalvik (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (Peabody, 2007).

[205] C. Hayward, "The Sacrifice of Isaac and Jewish Polemic against Christianity," *Cath. Bibl. Quart*. 52 (1990) 292–306; E. Kessler, *Bound by the Bible: Jews, Christians and the Sacrifice of Isaac* (Cambridge, 2004), to be read with the review by P.W. van der Horst, *Bryn Mawr Class. Rev*. 2005.02.47, who points out that already in the late first century

transitional period around AD 100 a Jew tried to convince his fellow Jews, who felt attracted to Christ, of the existence of a comparable figure in their own tradition?[206] Once again, we cannot exclude the influence of Greek drama (see above), but the date of *IV Maccabees* and its aim leave open the possibility of additional Christian influence.[207]

4.4. *Conclusion*

When we now return to the debate between De Jonge and Versnel, it will be clear that it is difficult to take sides with either scholar: De Jonge has not demonstrated that the early Christians were influenced by Jewish traditions in this respect, and Versnel has not proved the existence of a self-sacrificial mentality in the earlier first century. Yet some 'pagan' influence can hardly be denied. When we take into account (1) that Greek was widely spoken in Palestine in Jesus' time, also probably by Jesus himself,[208] (2) that theatres were present in the area, even in Jerusalem,[209] (3) that Euripides' tragedies had already influenced Ezekiel and the author of *II Maccabees*, (4) that Jews such as Philo (*Omnis probus* 141) attended Euripides' tragedies, which were widely read and performed in Jesus' time, (5) that Euripides' *Bacchae* was used by Luke

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AD, "the anonymous Jewish author of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* states that God has chosen the people of Israel on account of Isaac's blood (! *pro sanguine eius*, 18:5)."

[206] For this idea of multiple interactions between Jewish and Christian traditions about martyrdom see now Van Henten, "Jewish Martyrdom," 142.

[207] For the later influence of *IV Maccabees* on early Christianity see G. Nauroy, "Les frères Maccabées dans l'exegèse d'Ambroise de Milan ou la conversion de la sagesse judéo-hellénique aux valeurs du martyre chrétien," *Cahier de Biblia Patristica* (Strasburg) 2 (1989) 215–45 and "De combat de la piété à la confession du sang. Une interprétation chrétienne du martyre des Maccabées chez Ambroise de Milan," *Rev d'Hist. Philos. Rel.* 70 (1990) 49–68; A. Hilhorst, "Fourth Maccabees in Christian Martyrdom Texts," in C. Kroon and D. den Hengst (eds.), *Ultima Aetas. Time, Tense and Transience in the Ancient World. Studies in Honour of Jan den Boeft* (Amsterdam, 2000) 107–21; Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées*. The Christian interest is in strong contrast with the lack of interest of the early rabbis, cf. G. Stemberger, "The Maccabees in Rabbinic Tradition," in F. García Martínez *et al.* (eds.), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls. Studies in Honor of A.S. van der Woude* (Leiden, 1992) 192–203.

[208] Palestine: M. Hengel, *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (London, 1989) 7–18; G.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde 1989) 4–40 at 19–22; S. Schwarz, "Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine," *Past & Present* 148 (1995) 3–47. Jesus: J. Barr, "Which Language did Jesus Speak?," *Bull. John Rylands Libr.* 1 (1970–71) 9–29; J.A. Lund, "The Language of Jesus," *Mishkan* 17–18 (1992–3) 139–55.

[209] Jos. *BJ* 1.21.8 (Caesarea), 11 (Ptolemais, Damascus), *Ant.* 15.8.1 (Jerusalem), 17.6.3 (Jericho), cf. R. Reich and Y. Billig, "A Group of Theatre Seats Discovered near the South-Western Corner of the Temple Mount," *Israel Expl. J.* 50 (2000) 175–84.

in his *Acts* and, significantly, later provided the material for a Byzantine poem on Christ's suffering, the *Christus Patiens*,[210] and (6) that dying for the good of the people is an important topic in Euripides' tragedies (§ 3), then an influence, directly or indirectly, from Euripides is also more than likely upon the Jew(s) who first interpreted Jesus' execution as a vicarious death.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the period between Jesus and Paul is extremely limited, and most Jewish literature of the period has perished. Surprises, therefore, are not to be excluded. In fact, a more recently published Qumran text of the second century BC invokes an eschatological figure, probably the High Priest of the Messianic era, in the (?) *Apocryphon of Levi* (4Q541 9.2, 3), where it is said of an unknown person: "he will atone for all the children of his generation, and he will be sent to all the children of his people". At a given moment the person comes to a bad fate, since the text says "do not mourn for him", but the fragmentary state of the scroll does not allow further insights. In any case, the passage does not even remotely refer to a vicarious suffering. These circumstances must make the historian tread very carefully on his path. All we can say is that the tragedies of Euripides are very likely to have contributed to the interpretation of Jesus' death. The available evidence does not allow us to go any further.[211]

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[210] See also this volume, Chapter XI, section 2.

[211] This conclusion also concluded the original version of section 4 (first published in 1992). I leave it to the reader to decide if this conclusion is identical with its representation by Versnel, "Making Sense," 282: "Bremmer (…) advocates one sole model: Greek drama, more specifically Euripidean tragedy, and more precisely the *Alcestis*."

The original version of section 4 had profited from the comments and corrections of Jan den Boeft, Alasdair MacDonald, Florentino García Martínez and Jaap Mansfeld; the present version also profited from observations by Jan Willem van Henten, George van Kooten and Ken Lapatin. Section 3 started as a lecture at Princeton and Harvard during the year 1980–81. It had been rejected by *GRBS* and *Mnemosyne*, before being accepted for publication by *HSCP*. Its first printed version profited from helpful comments by Richard Buxton, Fritz Graf, Albert Henrichs, Theo Korteweg, Robert Parker and Zeph Stewart. Section 2 has profited from comments by Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popovic.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS OF THE THIRD KIND: HELIODORUS IN THE TEMPLE AND PAUL ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

For Piet van der Horst

At the beginning of the First World War, soon after the English had beaten back the Germans at Mons despite fearful odds, there arose a legend that has become known as the Angel of Mons. One version, from 1915, relates that an officer

> plainly saw an apparition representing St George, the patron saint of England, the exact counterpart of a picture that hangs to-day in a London restaurant. So terrible was their plight at the time that the officer could not refrain from appealing to the vision to help them. Then, as if the enemy had also seen the apparition, the Germans abandoned their position in precipitate terror.

The legend clearly fulfilled a need and soon became extremely popular; many versions arose, it was put to music, incorporated into films, and illustrations helped to promote its popularity. St George was one possible identity of the apparition, but angels figured in the various re-tellings of the story more often, and it was they who gave their name to the legend.[1]

The Angel of Mons was perhaps the last of a series of influential mutations of an old theme: the epiphany of a hero or god, later a saint or angel, on the battle field. Divine intervention in a critical situation was a standard feature of ancient descriptions of battles and the saving intervention of supernatural beings had a long and happy life, even if it seems to have had its run by now.[2] In most of these descriptions

[1] D. Clarke, *The Angel of Mons* (Chicester, 2004) 113 (quote).

[2] F. Graus, "Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer—zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik," in K.-U. Jäschke and R. Wenskus (eds.), *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann* (Sigmaringen, 1977) 330–48; D. MacDonald, "The Vision of Constantine as Literary Motif," in M.A. Powell Jr and R.H. Sack (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979) 289–96;

there is a clear moment of crisis requiring divine intervention, as it was in Mons. In ancient Greece, the genre of the 'historical' battle epiphany starts only around the turn of the fifth century and is in the beginning mainly limited to heroes.[3] One of the earliest cases must be the battle at the river Sagra in the later sixth century where the Locrians defeated Croton.[4] The Locrians had left a place open for Ajax in the first row of their phalanx which was not to be attacked, as the Crotonian Leonymus learned through his wounds (Paus. 3.19.12). It is perhaps not surprising that we do not hear of heroes appearing in battle before that time, since the concept of the religious hero as a category between gods and mortals was in fact not developed until the late sixth century.[5] It is rather striking that the next appearance of heroes on the battlefield seems to have been that of the Dioscuri on horseback at the battle of Lake Regillus in about 495 BC.[6] Yet the discovery of the more or less contemporary dedication at Lavinium to *Castorei Podlouqueique qurois* strongly suggests that the idea of a successful heroic intervention must have reached central Italy from Magna Graecia very quickly.[7] The stories of the intervening heroes during the battles of Marathon, Salamis and, perhaps, Plataea show how popular the idea soon proved to be.[8] It would not be until the Galatian invasion in 279 BC that we hear of the epiphany of a god in war since Archilochus (fr. 94) had mentioned Athena's help in battle. This time it naturally had to be Apollo, who could have hardly deserted his own sanctuary,[9] and

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W. Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld* (Tübingen, 1989) 269–91, 499–501; G. Wheeler, "*Battlefield Ephiphanies in Ancient Greece*," *Digressus* 4 (2004) 1–14.

[3] For epiphanies of heroes see J. Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies: Narrative, Visual, and Cultic Contexts," *Illinois. Class. Stud.* 29 (2004) 63–84.

[4] For the battle see M. Sordi (ed.), *Sagra: Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica* I (Milan, 1972); M. Giangiulio, "Locri, Sparta, Crotone e le tradizioni leggendarie intorno alla battaglia della Sagra," *MÉFRA* 95 (1983) 473–521; A. Sgobbi, "Stesicoro, Falaride e la battaglia della Sagra," *Acme* 56 (2003) 3–37.

[5] See now Bremmer, "The Rise of the Hero Cult and the New Simonides," *ZPE* 158 (2006) 15–26.

[6] See Pease on Cic. *ND* 2.6.

[7] A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones latinae liberae rei publicae*, 2 vols (Florence, 1957–63) II.1271a.

[8] S. Hornblower, "Epic and Epiphanies. Herodotus and the 'New Simonides,'" in D. Boedeker and D. Sider (eds.), *The New Simonides* (New York, 2001) 135–47 (Plataea); T. Harrison, *Divinity and History. The Religion of Herodotus* (Oxford, 2002[2]) 83–4 (Marathon, Salamis).

[9] Justinus 24.8.5, cf. G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Brussels, 1977); C. Auffarth, "«Gott mit uns!»: eine gallische Niederlage durch Eingreifen der Götter in der augusteischen Geschichtsschreibung (Pompeius Trogus 24.6–8)," *Der Altsprachliche*

subsequent years saw an explosion of divine epiphanies during battle with even Demeter taking part, albeit in the shape of an old woman, in the urban warfare against Pyrrhus of Epirus.[10] But those decades were an exception, and appearances of divinities in battle always remained relatively rare.[11]

The phenomenon of the epiphany in battle, then, can be traced in its transformations over a period of at least 2500 years. It is of course impossible to give here a full survey of the field of epiphany,[12] and a proper analysis would have to look at questions such as who appears to whom, in what manner, where, when and to what effect. Moreover, as the Angel of Mons illustrates, the idea of epiphany also has its history and we should always try to pay attention to diachronic and synchronic concerns. In illustration of such an approach I have chosen two cases that have been relatively neglected by classical scholars in their studies of epiphanies. They are the appearance of a rider in shining armour to the Seleucid grandee Heliodorus, and the appearance of Jesus to the apostle Paul on the road to Damascus. Both epiphanies have been repeatedly compared with one another and the latter has even been seen as depending on the former.[13] However, the parallels are to be viewed as structural rather than due to a genetic influence, as the author of

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Unterricht 33.5 (1990) 14–38; C. Champion, "The Soteria at Delphi: Aetolian propaganda and the Epigraphical 'Record'," *Am. J. Philol.* 116 (1995) 213–20; A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 2005) 157f. Note for Apollo's assistance also a contemporary decree from Kos (278 BC: *SIG*[3] 398).

[10] E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* II (Leiden, 1980) 177, reprinted in E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition in English including* The God of the Maccabees, *introduced by Martin Hengel, edited by Amram Tropper*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2007) I.450.

[11] For the evidence see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, 2 vols (Paris, 1950) 2.897–901; K. Garbrah, "On the *theophaneia* in Chios and the Epiphany of Gods in War," *ZPE* 65 (1986) 207–10; Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, 157–60.

[12] The most important studies are F. Pfister, "Epiphanie," in *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) 277–323; H.S. Versnel, "What Did Ancient Man See when he Saw a God? Some Reflections on Greco-Roman Epiphany," in D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies dei* (Leiden, 1987) 42–55 (with excellent bibliography); A. Henrichs, "Epiphany," in *OCD*[3], 546; F. Graf, "Epiphanie," in *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997) 1150–52; R. Pietre, "Images et perception de la présence divine en Grèce ancienne' *MÉFRA* 113 (2001) 211–24; M.W. Dickie, "Who were privileged to see the gods?," *Eranos* 100 (2002) 109–27; special issue on epiphany: *Illinois Class. Stud.* 29 (2004); B. Gladigow, *Religionswissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft*, eds. C. Auffarth and J. Rüpke (Stuttgart, 2005) 73–84 ("Epiphanie, Statuette, Kultbild: Griechische Gottesvorstellungen im Wechsel von Kontext und Medium," 1990[1]); I. Petrovic, *Von den Toren des Hades zu den Hallen des Olymp. Artemis Kult bei Theokrit und Kallimachos* (Leiden, 2007) 142–68.

[13] H. Windisch, "Die Christusepiphanie vor Damaskus (Act 9, 22 und 26) und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen," *ZNW* 31 (1932) 1–23.

Acts of the Apostles does not betray any influence from *II Maccabees*. Still, it might be illuminating to look at these two stories, as they can also show us the pervasiveness of Greek influence on ancient Israel.

1. *Heliodorus in the Temple*[14]

The first story is related in *II Maccabees* 3, which was probably written in the 150s BC, but of which only an epitome is left.[15] Even though this epitome may have been revised a number of times, in our analysis we will stick to the final version. In the introduction to *II Maccabees* (2.19–23), the author of the epitome tells us that the original version by Jason of Cyrene contained the wars of Judas the Maccabee and his brothers, the purification of the Temple and the heavenly epiphanies to those who chased the Seleucids out of Israel, reconquered the Temple and restored the laws. The Hellenistic period was the time that collections of divine epiphanies were recorded to promote faith and to serve religious propaganda in cults of such gods and heroes as Apollo (Istrus *FGrH* 334 F 50–52), Asclepius (*IG* IV.1^2, 121–24), Athena (*FGrH* 532 D), Hera,[16] Heracles (Istrus *FGrH* 334 F 53), the Maiden of Chersonesus on the Black Sea,[17] Sarapis (*POxy*. 11.1382; Artemidorus 2.44) and Zeus (Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 T 1).[18] The collection of the epiphanies, of which I will give several examples in my exposition, thus firmly dates our author to the Hellenistic period.

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[14] In this section all references in the text are to *II Maccabees* 3.

[15] Bickerman, *Studies* II, 159–91 ("Héliodore au temple de Jérusalem," 1939–44[1]), reprinted in Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition*, I.432–64, still is the best analysis.

[16] Leon *FgrH* 540 T 1, cf. A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* (Stuttgart, 1988) E 16.

[17] *IOSPE* I^2 344 = *FGrH* 807 T 1, cf. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker*, E 7.

[18] M. Rostowzew, "*Epiphaneiai*," *Klio* 16 (1920) 203–6; P. Roussel, "Le miracle de Zeus Panamaros," *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 55 (1931) 70–116; A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933) 90ff.; V. Longo, *Aretalogie nel mondo greco* I (Genua, 1969). On the *Lindian Chronicle* see now C. Higbie, *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of Their Past* (Oxford, 2003). Note also the mention of the *epiphaneias* of Artemis in Magnesia on the Maeander, cf. most recently A. Chaniotis, "Empfängerformular und Urkundenfälschung: Bemerkungen zum Urkundendossier von Magnesia am Mäander," in R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare im klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen* (Heidelberg, 1999) 51–69; H.-J. Gehrke, "Myth, History, and Collective Identity: Uses of the Past in Ancient Greece and Beyond," in N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (Oxford, 2001) 286–313; in Knidos, as one reason to honour the goddess (*SEG* 38.812A.7–8, B 9–10), and in Carian Bargylia (*SEG* 50.1101.1).

The episode I want to discuss took place under the rule of Seleucus IV (187–175 BC) and during the pontificate of Onias III (d. 172/1 BC). It relates how the financial supervisor of the Temple in Jerusalem,[19] a certain Simon, became embroiled in a dispute with the high priest about the supervision of the markets (4).[20] When he could not win, he told Apollonius son of Thraseas,[21] the *stratêgos* of Coele Syria and Phoenike, that the *gazophylakion*,[22] 'treasure room', of the Temple, was filled with uncountable coins (5–6). Apollonius reported this information to Seleucus, who charged Heliodorus, his chancellor (*ho epi tôn pragmatôn*),[23] who is known from several Delian inscriptions,[24] to seize the money (7). It is striking how well the author of *II Maccabees* is informed about the technical language of the Seleucid kingdom and the finances of the Temple,[25] and the combination of these business-like terms and the emotional atmosphere evoked by the author prevents the episode from becoming totally melodramatic.

Heliodorus next traveled to Jerusalem (8–9) where the high priest told him that the money consisted partly of private deposits and partly of deposits by widows and orphans (10). The latter were held in high repute in Israel and the story thus also shows something of the representation of the different values of Greeks and Jews.[26] When the day arrived on which Heliodorus had intended to inspect the treasure room, the situation in the city became highly dramatic: priests cast themselves before the altar and prayed loudly (15), the high priest walked around pale and trembling (16–7), people left their houses in droves and sent up supplicatory prayers (18), women filled the streets in mourning dresses,

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[19] For the function see G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy* (Cambridge, 2004) 173, 287.

[20] For this supervision see G. Gardner, "Jewish Leadership and Hellenistic Civic Benefaction in the Second Century BCE," *J. Bibl. Lit.* 126 (2007) 327–43 at 329–32.

[21] For Apollonius see C.P. Jones and C. Habicht, "A Hellenistic inscription from Arsionoe in Cilicia," *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317–46 at 343–6, reprinted in C. Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies: Selected Papers* (Ann Arbor, 2006) 243–74 at 270–4.

[22] For the Persian background of the term see J.P. Brown, *Israel and Hellas* III (Berlin and New York, 2001) 240f.

[23] For the function see J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris, 1983) 176–7, overlooked by Aperghis, *Seleukid Royal Economy*, 276.

[24] *IG* XI 4, 1112–14; I. *Délos* 443B.72–4.

[25] Bickerman, *Studies* II, 162–6, reprinted in Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition*, I.434–39.

[26] For the high Jewish regard for widows and orphans see K. van der Toorn, "The Public Image of the Widow in Ancient Israel," in J.N. Bremmer and L.P. van den Bosch (eds.), *Between Poverty and the Pyre. Moments in the History of Widowhood* (London, 1995) 19–30.

girt under their breasts, and even girls left their secluded rooms to pray on the doorsteps or at least to look out of the windows of their houses (19).[27] The situation was absolutely desperate.

Heliodorus, though, was un-impressed and approached the treasure room with his bodyguards, the *doryphoroi* (23–4). But before the epiphany took place the author had already announced that the Lord "caused *epiphaneian megalên*" (24) so that they all became highly fearful. Habicht translates it as 'trat…grossartig in Erscheinung', whereas Goldstein has 'miraculously intervened'. The former is better as it keeps the notion of appearance, but it seems as if the author wants to express both meanings of *epiphaneia*, namely the appearance and its impact, with the combination, just as Cicero does with his well-known pronouncement *praesentes saepe di vim suam declarant* (*ND* 2.6).[28] In fact, the expression *megalas epiphaneias* now has turned up in a decree of Carian Olymos (*SEG* 39.1135.5), where it must have the same meaning of both appearance and impact.

The actual epiphany occurred only after Heliodorus had entered the treasure room (24). The timing is of course highly dramatic, namely the very moment that Heliodorus was about to commit his act of sacrilege. As we will see with Paul, these moments are well chosen, and the 'where' and 'when' of an epiphany always have to be taken into account in an analysis of epiphanies.

What happened then? Those present saw (*ôphthê*) an awesome rider in golden armour on a splendidly adorned horse that charged straight at Heliodorus with his front hoofs (25). It is important to note that the rider was seen by all who were present (24), whereas in Homer and ancient epic, Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes it usually is only the hero who actually sees the divinity who, for that reason, often stands close to the addressee.[29] This model also seems to have been followed by Lucan in Book 1 of his epic *Civil War*, when he describes the epiphany of the personified Roma to Caesar in order to stop him

[27] In *III Macc*. 1.18, girls also leave their secluded rooms during a catastrophe. For the problem of the seclusion of the Jewish women see now P.W. van der Horst, *Philo's* Flaccus. *The First Progrom* (Leiden, 2003) 179f.

[28] The phrase is wrongly quoted as *praesentiam saepe suam divi declarant* by Versnel, "What Did Ancient Man See," 52, who then draws the wrong conclusion from it.

[29] B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (Wiesbaden, 1968) 75; Latacz *et al*., on *Il*. I.197–8, compare *Il*. II.167ff., XI.196ff., XV.243ff., XX.330ff. and 375ff., XXII.214ff., XXIV.169ff.; *Od*. 16.159ff.; *Meropis*, fr. 3 B; note also Aesch. *Ch*. 1061, Call. *H*. 2.9; AR 4.855.

from crossing the Rubicon. Although she addresses the *viri* and *cives* (191–2), the narrative focuses on Caesar alone, so that he appears to be the only one to see her (*visa duci patriae trepidantis imago*: 186). Yet even Homer is much more sparing in his description of a divinity during its epiphany than we perhaps realize. Usually, he provides only a minimal description of the god and limits himself to the description of the divine voice.[30] Epiphanies are often much less informative about the gods than we would wish.

The presence of the rider's horse is an interesting example of the Seleucid influence on Israel, as horses did not play a real role in Israel due to its mountainous terrain.[31] The Macedonians, however, had an excellent cavalry that must have made a great impact on the Jews. It is tempting to think that the king and/or his grandees paraded in such golden panoply, even if I have found no examples to illustrate the idea. Yet it is clear that these shining knights had impressed the author of *II Maccabees*. He mentions that at the time of Antiochos' second expedition against Egypt, that is ca. 170–168 BC, people saw another *epiphaneia*. This apparition lasted forty days, during which horses ran through the skies with knights dressed in robes interwoven with gold and armed with spears (5.2), a kind of vision that is still attested in early modern times and even in the First World War.[32] And in the legendary battle against a certain Timothy there appeared (*ephanêsan*) five splendidly dressed men on horses with golden reins from heaven in order to assist Simon the Maccabee (10.29). Finally, in the battle against Lysias there appeared to the Jews a rider, dressed in white, who waved a golden sword and shield and commanded their army (11.8). Bickerman comments that the action of the horse against Heliodorus was not that of a horse in battle but rather that of one in a circus or riding school. It is true that it would be difficult for a horse in such a position to kill, but any veteran of the riots of the 1960s—*expertus loquor*—will remember what a terrifying experience it was to be chased by police on horseback and will recall the healthy respect one had for horses: Heliodorus must have been scared to death.

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[30] *Il.* II.182, X.512, XX.380, cf. the perceptive comments of P. Pucci, *The Song of the Sirens* (Lanham, 1998) 81–96.

[31] Bickerman, *Studies* II, 176, reprinted in Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition*, I.449.

[32] W. Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief* (Hilversum, 2002) 145–52 (with interesting observations on the phenomenon); Clarke, *Angel of Mons*, 25–36.

But whereas all those present saw the rider, the text stresses that Heliodorus also saw (*prosephanêsan*) two young men, clearly very strong, very handsome and magnificently dressed, who flogged him incessantly (26).[33] As no reaction of the bystanders is mentioned, we may assume that the author has here employed the already mentioned motif of the protagonist as the only person who sees the divine epiphany. Bickerman concluded from the presence of the rider and the two youths that the author drew on two different versions.[34] This is perhaps right, but it is always difficult to draw such conclusions on the basis of an epitome and I am not convinced of the absolute necessity of this proposal. Although it is normal to interpret the youths as angels,[35] and two angels are indeed present at the empty grave (*Luke* 24.4) and at the ascension of Christ (*Acts* 1.10), a possible influence from records of the appearance of the Greek Dioskouroi, whose presence in epiphanies is so well attested,[36] can hardly be excluded in this Hellenistic treatise. It is interesting that the rider does not speak. It seems that the author found it sufficient to demonstrate the Lord's power, but did not want to dwell too much on his anthropomorphic shape.

This divine violence was too much for Heliodorus and he lost consciousness (27). But the Jews praised the Lord and joy abounded "now that the Almighty Lord had appeared (*epiphanentos*)" (30). Such joy and praise are typical of Hellenistic aretology.[37] Given that the fall of Heliodorus had taken place in the Temple, it is understandable that some of his friends requested Onias to bring a propitiatory sacrifice (31). During that sacrifice, the two angels made another appearance (*ephanêsan*) to Heliodorus, once again exclusively, thus showing the force

[33] The flogging is also mentioned in *II Macc.* 5.18. Flogging angels occur in the Babylonian Talmud (*Chagiga* 15a), the late fourth-century *Visio Pauli* (2) and *Visio Dorothei* (131, 145 Kessels/Van der Horst: see note 53), and in the much later *Martyrium Petri* (17) of Pseudo-Linus. It hardly is a 'thème folklorique', as postulated by Bickerman, *Studies* II, 181, reprinted in Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition*, 454f.

[34] Bickerman, *Studies* II, 173–4, reprinted in Bickerman, *ibidem*, 446–8.

[35] Bickerman, *Studies* II, 180, reprinted in Bickerman, *ibidem*, 453f.

[36] E. Pax, *Epiphaneia. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie* (Munich, 1955) 160; L. Thuri, "Die Epiphanie der Dioskuren", in H. Froning *et al.* (eds.), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992) 114–22; H.A. Shapiro, "Cult warfare: the Dioskouroi between Sparta and Athens," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (Stockholm, 1999) 99–107; M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 186–91. Note also the interesting passage in Marinus, *Life of Proclus*, 32, where the inhabitants of Adrotta wonder about the identity of two young horsemen that had been seen on the road to Adrotta.

[37] A. Henrichs, "Horaz als Aretaloge des Dionysos: *Credite Posteri*," *HSCP* 82 (1978) 203–11 at 210.

of the high priest's intervention. They exhorted him to proclaim God's majestic power and then disappeared forever (33–4).

Heliodorus now sacrificed in turn in order to thank God, as we would have expected.[38] Such a sacrifice after an epiphany is well attested. This is what the inhabitants of Abunoteichos do after they have seen the 'god' Alexander, and in the *Acts of the Apostles* "the priest of Zeus, whose temple was just outside the city, brought oxen and garlands to the gates; he and the crowd wanted to offer sacrifice" (14.13) to Paul and Barnabas after these had been identified as Zeus and Hermes.[39] After the sacrifice, Heliodorus returned home and "bore testimony to all concerning the deeds of the supreme God, which he had seen with his own eyes" (36). In other words, the epiphany culminates in the conversion of the outsider, who is now on the side of Israel. One could even say that the Heliodorus episode ends like a Hellenistic aretology, since it is typical of the Hellenistic aretalogies that the object of the miracle and its witnesses relate the *magnalia dei* to their environment.[40]

In normal circumstances our discussion would have had to stop here. However, by one of those chance findings that have made epigraphy such an exciting branch of classical scholarship, Heliodorus has turned up again in a very recently published stele with a set of three letters dating from mid-summer 178 BC: from Seleucus to Heliodorus, from Heliodorus to Dorymenes, and from Dorymenes to Dophanes.[41] From the first letter, which is the most important one, we learn that the king had appointed a certain Olympiodoros as royal supervisor of the sanctuaries in the satrapy Coele Syria and Phoenike, just as in other satrapies. Evidently, the Temple hierarchy in Jerusalem did not like this threat to its autonomy and had tried to rebuff the attempt to get hold

[38] For an analysis of Hebrew and pagan reactions to God's intervention see S.J. Cohen, "Alexander the Great and Jaddus the High Priest According to Josephus," *American Jewish Studies Review* 7 (1982) 41–68 at 56–60.

[39] For these and other examples see M. Dickie, "Divine Epiphany in Lucian's Account of the Oracle of Alexander of Abonuteichos," *Illinois. Class. Stud.* 29 (2004) 159–82 at 177f. For the Lystra episode see most recently L.H. Martin, "Gods or ambassadors of God?: Barnabas and Paul in Lystra," *New Test. Stud.* 41 (1995) 152–6; M. Fournier, *The episode at Lystra: a rhetorical and semiotic analysis of Acts 14, 7–20a* (Bern, 1997); D.P. Bechard, "Paul Among the Rustics: The Lystran Episode (Acts 14:8–20) and Lucan Apologetic," *Cath. Bibl. Quart.* 63 (2001) 84–101.

[40] *Mark* 1.45; *John* 19.35, cf. W. Ameling, "Evangelium Johannis 19, 35: ein aretalogisches Motiv," *ZPE* 60 (1985) 25; Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.3; Apul. *Met.* 11.13; Henrichs, "Horaz als Aretaloge," 210f.

[41] H.M. Cotton and M. Wörrle, "Seleukos IV to Heliodoros. A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel," *ZPE* 159 (2007) 191–205.

of the Temple treasury, which will have taken place shortly after the appointment of a supervisor but, in any case, before Seleucus' death in early September 175. In the first instance the resistance must have been successful and its, perhaps unexpected, success will have led to the legendary epiphany of *II Maccabees*. However, less than a decade later Antiochos IV would enter Jerusalem with his army and loot the Temple.[42] Even heavenly epiphanies cannot always stop earthly powers.

2. *Paul on the road to Damascus*

I now turn to my second case, the epiphany to the apostle Paul on the road to Damascus. The episode is justly famous, if not because of Paul himself.[43] Surprisingly, although he mentions his vision twice, he is extremely sparse with details. In *1 Corinthians* 9.1 he rhetorically asks: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?", and in 15.8 he just mentions that Christ "appeared also to me", where the Greek word *ôphthê*, which we also met in the episode of Heliodorus, is the standard expression for such visions in person already in the *Septuagint*,[44] whatever German commentaries may make of it. Finally, in *Galatians* 1.17 he mentions Damascus. It is therefore remarkable that Luke's *Acts* (9.1–30, 22.3–21, 26.9–20) relates the episode thrice, each time in descending order of length. Moreover, whereas Luke relates the first version in the third person, he lets Paul relate the other two as a kind of autobiographical narrative.[45]

The three versions all have rather different purposes. The longest one is situated in Damascus, aims at tying Paul closely to the nascent Christian church and mentions pupils, apostles and the peaceful growth of the church. The second takes place in Jerusalem, is directed to the Jewish people and emphasizes Paul's loyalty to Jewish culture and society,

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[42] P.F. Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes: eine politische Biographie* (Berlin, 2006) 225–81.

[43] R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (London, 1986) 102–67, 700–11 neglects this episode in his extensive discussion of pagan and Christian epiphanies.

[44] *Genesis* 12.7, 17.1, 18.1, 26.2 etc.; *Luke* 24.34; *Acts* 9.17, 13.31, 26.16; *Acts of John* 87, 89; *Acts of Thomas* 1; Longus 2.26.

[45] See especially E. Pfaff, *Die Bekehrung des H. Paulus in der Exegese des 20 Jhdts* (Rome, 1942); G. Lohfink, *Paulus vor Damaskus. Arbeitsweisen der neueren Bibelwissenschaft dargestellt an den Texten* (Stuttgart, 1966); C.W. Hedrick, "Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts," *J. Bibl. Lit.* 100 (1981) 415–32; I. Czachesz, *Commission Narratives: A Comparative Study of the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts* (Leuven, 2007) 60–91.

but it also prefigures his future as the apostle for the non-Jewish world. The last one takes place in Caesarea in front of King Agrippa and stresses Paul's role as the preacher of Christ. It seems not unreasonable to conclude from these differences that Luke did not have a fixed detailed tradition at his disposal. He probably knew an outline of Paul's conversion but felt free to apply it to varying circumstances with varying emphases. In other words, none of the three is the authentic one and I will present a running commentary on the main pattern, although trying to keep an eye to the occasion of the narrative, if necessary. There are clearly problems with this procedure from a narrative point of view, but for the purpose of understanding the *topoi* of epiphany it does not seem too problematic.

In his two 'autobiographical' accounts Paul presents his epiphany as an apology (22.1, 26.1), and in front of the royal couple he even assumes the posture of an ancient orator in telling them: Luke relates that he stretches out his hand (26.1), which must mean his right hand, as Quintilian instructs us.[46] Clearly, it is not a simple Jew that is speaking here, but someone who has authority and knows the rules of the art. Paul started with stating that he was charged by the high priest to persecute followers of Jesus in Damascus (22.5, 26.12). It is characteristic of Luke's history that he focuses on Paul alone. The apostle had clearly left Jerusalem with a group of attendants, who are mentioned in the course of the epiphany (9.7, 22.9, 26.13), but neither their status nor their number is elaborated in any detail. It is only the first version that specifies where the epiphany happened. It took place "when he approached Damascus" (9.3). Evidently, it is not such a dramatic moment as in the case of Heliodorus who had already entered the treasure room, but it is still a significant location. Paul had already as good as reached his goal and the start of the persecution was only a matter of days, if not hours, away.

Then *exaiphnês*, 'suddenly', (9.3, 22.6) something happened. The notion of 'suddenness' and 'speed' is traditional in Greek and Jewish miracle stories before being taken over by the New Testament and the Manicheans. Solon already knows that Paeon "quickly restores to health with the touch of his hands" (13.62) and in the Epidaurian miracles,

[46] *Acts* 21.40, 26.1, cf. U. Maier-Eichhorn, *Die Gestikulation in Quintilians Rhetorik* (Frankfurt, 1989) 114ff.

the mute 'suddenly' speaks and the blind 'suddenly' sees.[47] Both suddenness and speed "characterize a supernatural event as contrary to expectation".[48]

Although in the case of Heliodorus we did not hear about the time of the epiphany, Luke is more precise. It took place 'about noon' (22.6) or 'at midday' (26.13). For this moment of time Luke most likely drew on Greek tradition, although a certain influence from Jewish tradition cannot be totally excluded. Abraham is sitting near the oak of Mamre at the hottest moment of the day when Jahweh appears to announce that his post-menopausal wife Sarah will bear a son (*Genesis* 18.1). We may perhaps also mention that Luke employed the motif in his description of the crucifixion when the sun disappeared for three hours, starting at noon, before Jesus died (*Luke* 23.44). Yet the time of the midday sun was the traditional moment of the appearance of gods, ghosts and demons in antiquity, just as in modern times ghosts tend to appear at midnight. The motif must already predate Homer, as in the *Odyssey* (4.400) Proteus appears to Menelaus when the sun is at its zenith. In Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas* the encounter between Teiresias and Athena takes place at the *mesambrinai hôrai* (73–4),[49] just as in Apollonius of Rhodes Jason meets the Libyan heroines "at the middle of the day; all around the rays of the sun at their fiercest were burning Libya" (4.1312).[50] According to Theocritus (1.15), it is highly dangerous to pipe at noon, as that is the time to arouse the wrath of Pan; indeed, we have an epigram that Pan appeared "openly, not in a dream, but in the middle of the day".[51] Finally, Ovid (*Met.* 3.144–5) lets Actaeon fatally meet Artemis at noon. In short, there would have been plenty of examples from poetry to inspire Luke. The motif can even be easily followed into later Antiquity. For example, in Longus'

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[47] *IG* IV 951–2; O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (Giessen, 1909) 197–8; D. Daube, *The Sudden in the Scriptures* (Leiden, 1964); P.W. van der Horst and G. Mussies, *Studies on the Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Utrecht, 1990) 145f.

[48] A. Henrichs, "The Timing of Supernatural Events in the Cologne Mani Codex," in L. Cirillo (ed.), *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* (Cosenza, 1986) 183–204 at 202, with several examples from the *Cologne Mani Codex*.

[49] J.-R. Heath, "The Blessings of Epiphany in Callimachus' 'Bath of Pallas'," *Class. Ant* 7 (1988) 81–6; C.W. Müller, *Erysichthon* (Mainz, 1987) 46–64.

[50] Note also the nymphs playing at noon in Call. *H.* 6.78.

[51] G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878) no. 802 = *IG* XIV 1014 = *IGUR* 1.184, cf. J. Bousquet, "Epigrammes romains," *Klio* 52 (1970), 37–40 at 39.

Daphnis and Chloe Philetas encounters Eros 'about noon' (2.4),[52] and in the *Vision of Dorotheus*, which was published about two decades ago, the protagonist receives his vision when he "was sitting alone in the palace in the midst of the day" (4).[53] All these parallels strongly suggest that Luke employed a literary *topos* rather than that he recorded an authentic experience,[54] even though this tradition may of course have occasionally conditioned real experiences.

At this fateful moment, Paul saw a light coming from heaven that shone around him and his attendants (26.13), although in the first two versions it was only Paul who saw the light (9.3, 22.6). On the other hand, in the first two versions the attendants hear the voice, but in the third one it is only Paul who hears the voice speaking (23.14). It seems as if Luke is trying to strike a balance between the traditional motif of only the hero seeing the divinity and the need for authentification of the epiphany by noting that all those present heard or saw it happening.[55]

The light was brighter than that of the sun, and I hardly have to remind the reader of Noel Coward's 1932 song 'Mad Dogs and Englishmen' with its immortal lines:

> At twelve noon the natives swoon and no further work is done, but mad dogs and Englishmen go out in the midday sun.

For the Jews themselves, the sun at noon was so bright that several texts from the Old Testament contrast it with darkness or twilight, as in *Deuteronomy*'s "you shall grope about at noon as blind people grope

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[52] K. Nickau, "Zur Epiphanie des Eros im Hirtenroman des Longos," *Hermes* 130 (2002) 176–91.

[53] I quote from the text and translation by A.H.M. Kessels and P.W. van der Horst, "The Vision of Dorotheus (Pap. Bodmer 29)," *VigChris.* 41 (1987) 313-59; note also the list with *errata* of the *editio princeps* supplied by E. Livrea, *Kressona baskaniês. Quindici studi di poesia ellenistica* (Messina and Florence, 1993) 147f.

[54] R. Caillois, "Les démons de midi," *Rev. d'Hist. Rel.*115 (1937) 142–73 and 116 (1937) 54–83, 143–86; Ar. Cameron, "The Form of the *Thalysia*," in *Miscellanea di studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin, 1963) 291–307 at 301–2; A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg, 1965) 59–61; J.B. Friedman, "Euridice, Heurodis and the Noon-Day Demon," *Speculum* 41 (1966) 22–9; N. Fernandéz Marcos, *Los* Thaumata *de Sofronio* (Madrid, 1975) 39–40; N.J. Perella, *Midday in Italian Literature* (Princeton, 1979), with an excellent bibliography; E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 707; T. Papanghelis, "About the hour of noon: Ovid, Amores 1, 5," *Mnemosyne* IV 42 (1989) 54–61; G. Leopardi, *Poesie e prose*, ed. R. Damiani, vol. 2 (Milano, 1990^2) 705–12 (probably written in 1817); Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 128.

[55] For the latter need see F. Graf, "Trick or Treat? On Collective Epiphanies in Antiquity," *Illinois Class. Stud.* 29 (2004) 111–30.

in darkness" (28.29), *Isaiah*'s "we stumble at noon as in the twilight" (59.10) or *Job*'s "They meet with darkness in the daytime, and grope at noonday as in the night" (5.14).

The Greek verb used in chapter 26 is *perilamptô*, which is the same verb that is used in the Christmas story when the angel appears to the shepherds (*Luke* 2.9). The other two accounts use the stronger verb *periastraptô* (9.3, 22.6). The American classicist Frederick Brenk has devoted a whole study to the aspect of light in Paul's experience. He translates *periastraptô* with 'flashes around them' and suggests that Luke used the "normal word for lightning", drawing on a large amount of Greek material that hardly seems to be relevant here, such as the religious effects of being struck by lightning.[56] Brenk does not notice that when the women go to the grave of Jesus they see two men *en esthêti astraptousei* (24.4), which means no more than 'in shining clothes'. It is true, though, that light and radiance are classic features of the epiphany, and Luke's readers would have had no problem in recognising the scene.[57]

Paul and his followers all fell down on the ground. We may note that this was also the fearful reaction of the women of the chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (605) after Dionysos had shaken the earth. The traditional Greek reaction would have been either fear or astonishment, normally expressed by the verb *thambeô*. Both reactions already occur in Homer and they can be followed all through Greek literature.[58] Here the force of the light must have been such that fear was the normal reaction.

Subsequently, Paul heard a voice saying: 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' It is interesting to note that this question is one of the few motifs that is the same in all three accounts (9.4, 22.7, 16.14). Apparently, it was such a well-known part of the epiphany that Luke could not have omitted it. The third account adds that the voice spoke in Hebrew (26.14). The emphasis on God's language fits the context of Paul's apology in which he himself emphasizes that he is a proper Jew: it would surely have been inappropriate to let God use Greek at that particular moment.

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[56] F.E. Brenk, *Relighting the Souls* (Stuttgart, 1998) 354–63 ("Greek Epiphanies and Paul on the Road to Damascus").

[57] Pfister, "Epiphanie," 315–6; Richardson on *Hom. H. Demeter* 188–90, 275ff., 278; Gladigow, *Religionswissenschaft*, 74f.

[58] See the excellent collection of passages by Richardson on *Hom. H. Demeter* 188–90; *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* s.v. *thambeô*; Dickie, "Divine Epiphany in Lucian's Account," 168.

Contrary to what Dodds and Versnel state, it is only in this apology before the royal couple that Paul also hears the words "It hurts you to kick against the goads" (26.14).[59] It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the verse is a quote of a Greek proverb that appears in several works of fifth-century Greek literature and is best known from Euripides' *Bacchae*. Here Dionysus advises Pentheus: "I would sacrifice to him (Dionysos) rather than get angry and kick against the goads, a mortal against a god" (795, tr. R. Seaford). The proverb was used several times precisely in connection with resistance against a divinity.[60] This is already noticeable in Pindar's *Second Pythian Ode*, where after stating that "One must not contend with a god" (88) Pindar finishes his exhortation with the words "and kicking against the goad, you know, becomes a slippery path" (94–6). In the final part of the *Agamemnon* (1624) Aeschylus makes Aegisthus use the same proverb to argue that it is useless to resist fate, and in the *Prometheus Vinctus* (323) Okeanos points out to Prometheus that it is useless to fight against a cruel monarch, that is, Zeus. Euripides, then, employed the proverb in a traditional manner, but more effectively and pointedly than his predecessors.

Luke probably made Paul use the proverb and the allusion to Euripides in order to present him as a highly cultured man. Euripides was very popular in Hellenistic times, as the steady flow of papyri with fragments and hypotheseis of his tragedies as well as archeological representations show. He was even well read in Jewish circles, as can be seen from the *Exagôgê* of the Jewish tragedian Ezekiel.[61] As is well known, there may be some other possible allusions to Euripides' *Bacchae* in Luke's *Acts* as well. For example, the use of the quite rare verb *theomachein* (5.39), which occurs several times in the *Bacchae* (45, 325, 1255), and the liberation of the apostle Peter from prison (12.7), which resembles the episode of the imprisoned women in the *Bacchae* (443–8).[62] The evidence is circumstantial and perhaps not decisive.

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[59] *Contra* Dodds on Eur. *Bacc*. 795; H.S. Versnel, *Ter unus* (Leiden, 1990) 192.

[60] F. Smend, "Untersuchungen zu den Acta-Darstellungen von der Bekehrung des Paulus," *Angelos* 1 (1925) 34–45 at 36f.

[61] See this volume, Chapter X, note 151.

[62] W. Nestle, "Anklänge an Euripides in der Apostelgeschichte," *Philologus* 59 (1900) 46–57; G. Rudberg, "Zu den Bacchen des Euripides," *Symbolae Osloenses* 4 (1926) 29–34; L. Vögeli, "Lukas und Euripides," *Theol. Zs*. 9 (1953) 415–38; J. Hackett, "Echoes of Euripides in Acts of the Apostles," *Irish Theol. Quart*. 23 (1956) 218–27; O. Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt, 1968) 172ff.; R. Seaford, "Thunder, Lightning and Earthquake in the *Bacchae* and the Acts of the Apostles," in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (London 1997) 139–51.

Yet we may add that the combination of a voice and a supernatural light occur twice in the *Bacchae*. First, when Dionysos appears to the chorus, they hear the god's voice (567ff.) and see a fire (596–99). And at the dramatic moment that the maenads begin to see Pentheus, the messenger tells us:

> some voice from the air of heaven, Dionysos' one may guess, cried out "oh young women, I bring the one who makes you and me and my mystic rites a mockery; but take revenge on him!" And as the voice spoke these words a light of holy fire towered between heaven and earth (1078–83, tr. Seaford, adapted).

The same combination also occurs in the divinization of Empedocles, even if it is supposed to have occurred at midnight, when someone heard a voice calling Empedocles and seeing a light in the heavens and the glitter of lamps.[63] In these cases the voice came first and the light afterwards, but a much closer parallel can be found in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*. Here the heroization of Oedipus is announced first by thunder and lightning (1460–71, 1606), after which, 'suddenly' (*exaiphnês*: 1623) a divine voice is heard (1623–29); both phenomena are accompanied by expressions of fear by the bystanders (1464–6, 1606–7, 1624–5). It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that Luke was inspired by classical examples in his picture of this epiphany.

The combination of lightning and voice is also interesting from another point of view. In Homer gods always appear as they are or in a metamorphosed state, but Luke does not describe an epiphany of a personal appearance in a visual form. Jesus clearly manifests himself only through signs and sounds. Of course, it might not have been proper for a self-professing orthodox Jew to let a divinity appear in person, but we may perhaps also connect this detail with the fact that Luke could hardly have let Paul relate the personal experience of the appearance of an anthropomorphic god before the royal couple. In the enlightened world of Greek and Roman intellectuals this would probably have been too much. We may remember that in the novel it is always the less educated or socially inferior who believe in a real epiphany.[64] On the other hand, authors may like to portray their protagonists as intellectually superior and should not be unconditionally believed. We

[63] Her. Pont. fr. 83 (= Diog. Laert. 8.68).

[64] T. Hägg, *Parthenope. Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction* (Copenhagen, 2004) 141–55 ("Epiphany in the Greek Novels: The Emplotment of a Metaphor," 2002[1]) at 146.

may note that Pausanias still records many an epiphany, and so do the inscriptions.[65] In any case, it seems that epiphanies became somewhat disembodied in the course of time. Surely, in a more enlightened company it was easier to believe in the manifestation of the powers of a god than in his personal appearance.[66]

The question Paul poses to the voice, "Who are you, *kyrie*?" (9.5, 22.8, 26.15) is also recorded in all three versions and thus also seems to belong to the core of the epiphany. Many commentaries and translations prefer to capitalize the word *kyrie* and to translate it with 'Lord'. But this is unlikely. Paul does not yet know who is speaking to him and therefore uses the recently become popular term of deference to a superior, *kyrios*,[67] even though *kyrios* can be used to invoke a god in Hellenistic times: the well known *kyrie eleison* occurs first in Epictetus (2.7.12). However, Paul is soon informed: "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting" (9.5, 22.8, 26.15), an answer also attested in all three versions. The answer fits well with the self-revelation of Hellenistic gods, who liked to proclaim themselves with formulae starting with *egô eimi*. The formula is often found in the Old Testament and depends on a Near Eastern tradition that surfaced in Egypt in Hellenistic times with the well-known aretologies of Isis who frequently proclaimed herself as 'I am Isis'. It should be noted that the formula entered Greek culture at an early time. When presenting himself to the Phaeacians, Odysseus says: *eim' Odysseus Laertiadês* (*Od*. 9.19); at the end of his encounter with Tyro, just before diving into the sea, Poseidon announces: *autar egô toi eimi Poseidaôn enosichthôn* (*Od*. 11.252), and in her Homeric hymn Demeter reveals herself with the words *eimi de Dêmêter timaochos* (268). Given the recent attention to Oriental features in early Greek epic, this formula should be taken into account as well.[68]

In the first two versions Paul is blinded by the light and has to be guided to Damascus, where a Jew, Ananias, baptises him after he has regained the light of his eyes (9.18, 22.13). It is clear that there is something symbolic in this blindness. This is confirmed by the sequel

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[65] *SEG* 41.1245 (Pisidia).

[66] Cf. Pax, *Epiphaneia*, 38.

[67] E. Dickey, "Κύριε, δέσποτα, *domine*. Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire," *JHS* 121 (2001) 1–11.

[68] For the formula see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1923[2]) 186–239; Richardson on *Hom. H. Demeter* 268; Versnel, "What Did Ancient Man See," 43; G. Mussies, "Identification and self-identification of gods in classical and Hellenistic times," in R. van den Broek *et al*. (eds.), *Knowledge of God in the Greco-Roman world* (Leiden, 1988) 1–18.

to Jesus' words. He tells Paul that he will be sent to the gentiles to open their eyes in order to turn them from darkness to light (26.18). It is only when Paul can really see that he is worthy to be baptised and to become a proper disciple of Christ. In the last version, however, there is no mention of baptism or of any preaching to the Christian community. Paul's main emphasis is on legitimating himself before the royal couple. This is an interesting twist on the traditional Greek epiphanies. The latter were often the occasion for the institution of a cult or honours to the divinity,[69] but Jesus' proclamation does not so much exalt his own position as the position of his servant.

Let us try to formulate some conclusions. First, a study of Greek epiphany has to pay attention to the whole of Greek literature, including the early Christians, who were often no less Greek than many an inhabitant of Asia Minor or Egypt, *pace* the prejudices of great classicists as Mommsen and Wilamowitz. Second, the study of these two epiphanies shows how much Jewish culture had become Hellenized in the relatively short time after Alexander the Great. Third, epiphanies often function in a larger context that has to be analyzed as well, if we want to find their meanings. Fourth, when we compare the various elements of epiphany over time we can see that the epiphany has a history as well. *Tempora mutantur et dei mutantur cum illis*.

Yet we have hardly been able to pay full attention to the gods. Which gods appeared to whom, and did their activities remain the same over time, or did some gods become more 'visible' than others? And what about the persons to whom the gods appeared? I have discussed two episodes with supernatural beings appearing to males. But what about women? Is there a gender factor to be taken into account? Even a superficial student of Greek epiphany will immediately notice a striking contrast with Roman-Catholic tradition. If we think of Bernadette of Lourdes or Jeanne d'Arc, we immediately realize that Greece has very little to offer in this respect. Admittedly, Alexandra of Miletus, a third-century priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros, recorded that "the gods appeared to girls and women, but also to men and children".[70] Yet it is clear that the power structure of ancient Greece did not leave much room for women to open up their own niche in society through

[69] Richardson on *Hom. H. Demeter* 188–90, 268ff.
[70] *I. Didyma* 496, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10–11 (1960) 543f.

epiphanies.[71] Why this was the case is only one of the many questions that still have to be resolved in the fascinating subject of Greek epiphany.[72]

[71] But women were not easily believed by the Catholic clergy either, cf. W. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981) 197–9.

[72] This contribution has profited from audiences in Exeter (2004), Groningen (2005), Chicago and Utrecht (2006) as well as from observations by Annemarie Ambühl.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PERSIAN *MAGOI* AND THE BIRTH OF THE TERM 'MAGIC'

The practice of magic probably goes back several millennia, but the origin of the term has its roots in ancient Greece. This origin was investigated in a famous article by Arthur Darby Nock in 1933.[1] Nock (1902–63) was a marvellous scholar and possibly the best expert on ancient religion as a whole in the period of 1930–1960.[2] His reputation is probably the cause of the fact that no contemporary investigation into magic has taken the trouble to see whether his views can be improved upon. When the origin of the Greek terms *magos* and *mageia* is mentioned, scholars invariably refer to Nock.[3] Yet a closer look at Nock's article soon reveals that he did not collect all the available evidence and that his views on Iranian religion are outdated;[4] moreover important new evidence has been discovered both on the Iranian and the Greek fronts since the appearance of his study. It is therefore appropriate to review the evidence once again.

1. *The birth of* magos *and* mageia

It is evidently impossible to discuss the meaning of the terms *magos* and *mageia* for the whole of antiquity. As the Magi were closely associated

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[1] A.D. Nock, "Paul and the Magus," in F. Jackson and K. Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity* V (London, 1933) 164–88, reprinted in Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, 2 vols (Oxford, 1972) I.308–30.

[2] For Nock see the biobliography mentioned by Z. Stewart in his 'Introduction' to Nock, *Essays*; add now W.M. Calder III, *Men in Their Books* (Hildesheim, 1998) 233–34, 284f.

[3] Cf. K. Rigsby, "Teiresias as Magus in *Oedipus Rex*," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 109–14 at 110; H.S. Versnel, "Some reflections on the relationship magic-religion," *Numen* 38 (1991) 177–97 at 194 note 14; J. Gager, "Moses the Magician," *Helios* 21 (1994) 179–88 at 187 note 8; F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge MA, 1997) 20 note 1.

[4] As is noted by A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Leiden, 1997) 222 note 62; see now also his "The Contribution of the Magi," in V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *Birth of the Persian Empire* I (London and New York, 2005) 85–99.

with the Persian king and his empire,[5] I limit myself to the period before the arrival of Alexander the Great, when their place in society and, perhaps, their doctrines must have undergone more or less serious changes.[6] In this period, the oldest attestation of the word *magos* occurs in a passage of the philosopher Heraclitus as given by Clement of Alexandria in his *Protreptikos* (2.22.2). On the question as to who is the object of Heraclitus' prophecies, the Church Father provides the following quote: "those who wander in the night (*nyktipolois*): Magi (*magois*), bacchants (*bakchois*), maenads (*lênais*), initiates (*mystais*)" (fr. 14 B).[7] There are various oddities in the quotation: the term used for 'bacchant' is not attested before Euripides, that of 'initiate' without any (implicit) qualification, such as 'of Eleusis', not before the Derveni papyrus (below) or the Orphic gold-tablet of Hipponium (v. 16: *ca*. 400 BC),[8] and that for 'maenad' not before Theocritus XXVI. As Clement's tendency to interpret and expand his sources is well-known, one may have one's doubts about the authenticity of the precise wording of the quotation.[9] On the other hand, we should never forget our lacunose knowledge of early Greek literature: it is only two decades ago that the word *nyktipolos* emerged in a fragment of Aeschylus' *Psychagôgoi* (fr.

[5] E.J. Bickerman, *Religions and Politics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods* (Como, 1985) 619–41 (with H. Tadmor); P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1996) I, 256–58; De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, 387–403, but add to this well balanced analysis of the early *magoi* V. Mair, "Old Sinitic *M^{r}ag, Old Persian Maguš and English 'Magician'," *Early China* 15 (1990) 27–47.

[6] This aspect of the Magi is not taken into consideration in recent studies of their position in the Persian empire, but seems to me highly likely.

[7] I follow the punctuation argued by Graf, *Magic*, 21.

[8] For the most recent edition of the 'Orphic' gold tablets see F. Graf and S.I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2007) 1–49.

[9] As do M. Marcovich, *Heraclitus* (Merida, 1967) 465–67; G. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979) 12 note 18; Rigsby, "Teiresias," 110; M. Papatheophanes, "Heraclitus of Ephesus, the Magi, and the Achaemenids," *Iranica Antiqua* 20 (1985) 101–61; A. Henrichs, "Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus: Zur Ambivalenz der chthonischen Mächte im attischen Drama," in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds.), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991) 161–201 at 190–1; W. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass., 2004) 167 note 29. Its authenticity is accepted by Ch. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus* (Cambridge, 1979) 262 (with some qualms); M. Conche, *Héraclite. Fragments* (Paris, 1986) 167–70; T. Robinson, *Heraclitus. Fragments* (Toronto, 1987) 85–6; Graf, *Magic*, 21; J.-F. Pradeau, *Héraclite, Fragments* (Paris, 2002) 320–1 (with some qualifications); G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge, 2004) 81; R.L. Fowler, "The concept of magic," in *ThesCRA* III (2005) 283–7 at 283 ("authenticity needlessly doubted"); A. Bernabé, "Μάγοι en el Papiro de Derveni: magos persas, charlatanes u oficiantes órficos?," in E. Calderón *et al.* (eds.), *Koinòs Lógos. Homenaje al professor José García López* (Murcia, 2006) 93–103 at 96 note 13.

273a.8),[10] whereas before it was known first from Euripides. However this may be, the presence of *magoi* in this enumeration seems to be authentic, since its meaning hardly points to magic but to practitioners of private cults, just like the other three categories which all belong to the Orphic-Dionysiac sphere.[11]

This particular meaning of *magos* occurs only three times in our evidence, all in relatively early texts. In addition to Heraclitus we find it in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. Unfortunately, the precise date of this play is unclear, but there is a general consensus that it belongs to the thirties or twenties of the fifth century BC. When Oedipus has concluded that Creon has conspired with Teiresias to overthrow him, he denounces him for setting upon him "this *magos* hatcher of plots, this crafty begging priest, who has sight only when it comes to profit, but in his art is blind" (387–9, tr. Lloyd-Jones, slightly adapted). In this passage *magos* must mean something negative like 'quack, charlatan',[12] still very much as in Heraclitus. The connection with the begging priests also occurs in *On the Sacred Disease*. This treatise on epilepsy is ascribed to Hippocrates but generally dated to the end of the fifth century or even to the beginning of the fourth century; it also is the first pamphlet-length attack on magic in our sense of the word. According to the anonymous author, those people who first called the disease 'sacred', were the sort of people who are "now *magoi* and purifiers and begging priests and humbugs. These are exactly the people that claim to be very pious and to possess a superior knowledge" (1.10).[13] In a derogatory manner, the *magoi* are again combined with begging priests and other private religious practitioners, as in Sophocles.[14]

The connection of *magoi* with magic starts to appear not in philosophy but in tragedy. Photius (s.v. *magous*) mentions that *mageia* occurred in the tragedians (*TGrF* Adesp. 592), but until now the word has not turned

[10] Henrichs, "Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus," 190.

[11] This is well observed by Graf, *Magic*, 21f.

[12] Rigsby, "Teiresias," 113, suggests 'kingmaker' and is followed by E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989) 194 note 107, but refuted by R. Dawe, *Sophocles: Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge, 1982) 32f.

[13] I use the recent edition of A. Roselli, *Ippocrate: La malattia sacra* (Venice, 1996); see also V. Munoz Llamosas, "*De morbo sacro* 1.23 o la visión negativa del mago," in J. Peláez (ed.), *El dios que hechiza y encanta* (Córdoba, 2002) 155–65.

[14] For the begging priests see P. Stengel, "Agyrtes 2," in *RE* I (1894) 915–7; Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1273.

up with any certainty in the available evidence.[15] Our first example of *magos* occurs in Aeschylus' *Persians* (472 BC). In a roll-call of the dead Persian commanders, the messenger to the Persian queen mentions *Magos Arabos*, 'Magos the Arabian' (317). From Elamite tablets found in Persepolis we now know that the name **Magus* was not uncommon among the Persians,[16] but Aeschylus' combination of Magos with Arabia also shows that he did not have a clue about the nature of the Persian Magi. And indeed, the frequent attempts at identifying Persian religious elements in his *Persae* have not been very persuasive.[17]

The situation is different with the later Euripides. In his *Suppliants* of *ca*. 424–420 BC Iphis says how much he hates those who try to prolong their life with *mageumata*, 'charms, spells' (1110); in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (*ca.* 414 BC) the messenger relates how Iphigenia prepared the sacrifice of Orestes, "while she sang barbarous songs like a *magos*" (*mageuousa*: 1338), and in the *Orestes* of 408 BC a Phrygian slave ascribes the escape of Helen to "black magic or the tricks of *magoi* or thefts by the gods" (1497).

Towards the end of the fifth century we find the "two arts of *goêteia* and *mageia*" in Gorgias' apology for Helen (10). Although the passage is not crystal clear, it is the first certain mention of *mageia* in our texts. The second example occurs in the already mentioned *On the Sacred Disease*. As we have seen, the anonymous author connects *magoi* with purifiers, and the same combination recurs when the author somewhat later proceeds with the rhetorical question: "if somebody is able to remove such a disease by purifying and *mageuôn*…" (1.26). However, the latter term comes close to our 'magic' when the author rejects as human trickery the feat of a man bringing down the moon "*mageuôn* and sacrificing" (1.31).[18] Finally, at the end of his work he once again stresses that a real healer "would not need to resort to purifications and *magiê* (*v.l.*: *mageumatôn*) and all that kind of charlatanism" (18.6). It is clear

[15] It has been suspected in Aesch. fr. **36b.2 II.7 by R. Cantarella, *I nuovi frammenti eschilei di Ossirinco* (Naples, 1948) 21.

[16] M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* (Vienna, 1973) 187; R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos* (Vienna, 1978) 38f.

[17] See the refutation by Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 86–93.

[18] For the trick see D.E. Hill, "The Thessalian Trick," *RhM* 116 (1973) 222–38; B. Marzullo, "Aristoph. *Nub*. 749–755," *Mus. Crit.* 21–22 (1986–87) 153–76; R. Gordon, "Imagining Greek and Roman Magic," in B. Ankarloo and S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome* (Philadelphia, 1999) 159–275 at 223–4; for more or less contemporary representations, M. Schmidt, "Sorceresses," in E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora* (Baltimore, 1995) 57–62 at 61.

that in the eyes of the author *magoi* are people who practise healing techniques comparable to those of purifiers and begging priests, that is, to people of an inferior theology and an inferior cosmology.[19]

We have three negative examples left. In his *Republic* (572e), which for our purpose may be dated to the first half of the fourth century,[20] Plato speaks about the son of democratic man and his encouragement towards lawlessness by his father and relatives: "when these dread *magoi* and tyrant-makers come to realize that they have no hope of controlling the youth in any other way, they devise to engender in him a sort of passion etc." Less pronounced is his statement in the *Statesman* (280e), where we hear of the "*mageutikê* (sc. *technê*) regarding spells to ward off evils", but considering Plato's rejection of magic, it can hardly be interpreted in a positive manner; still, the passage is interesting, since it seems to be the first to speak of magic as a *technê*,[21] an expression which will later become especially popular in Latin.[22] Finally, in 330 Aeschines (3.137) denounces Demosthenes as a "*magos* and sorcerer" as no scoundrel before him has ever been.

Until now I have focused on the more dubious *magoi*, at least from a Greek point of view, but concomitant with them we also hear about authentic Magi, the hereditary technologists of the sacred from western Iran. These were probably mentioned first in Greek literature by Xanthos of Lydia, an area with a strong Persian presence.[23] Xanthos was an older contemporary of Herodotus,[24] who had dedicated a part of his work on Lydian history to the *magoi*, which was later called *Magika*. In the two extant fragments he mixes fact and fiction by relating that the *magoi* practised incest (true) and wife-swapping (untrue),[25] but he is the first Greek to mention Zarathustra,[26] if in that curious and still

[19] Cf. Lloyd, *Magic*, 15–28; Graf, *Magic*, 30–2.

[20] For this complicated question see D. Nails, "The Dramatic Date of Plato's *Republic*," *Class. Journal* 93 (1998) 383–96.

[21] Note now also its occurrence in *SEG* 41.981 and, probably, *PLitPalauRib* 26 a7, b3, cf. A. Stramaglia, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 77.

[22] J.-B. Clerc, *Homines Magici. Étude sur la sorcellerie et la magie dans la société romaine impériale* (Bern, 1995) 154.

[23] N.V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid colonization in Lydia," *R. Et. Anc.* 87 (1985) 7–29; Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, I, 721–5.

[24] R.L. Fowler, "Herodotus and His Contemporaries," *JHS* 116 (1996) 62–7 at 64; note also the discussion in *FGrH* 1001.

[25] For the incest see now De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, 424–32.

[26] Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 31–2, cf. P. Kingsley, "Meetings with Magi: Iranian Themes among the Greeks, from Xanthus of Lydia to Plato's Academy," *J. Roy. As. Soc.* III 5 (1995) 171–209.

unexplained Greek form of Zoroaster.[27] According to Momigliano, "Xanthus also referred to the Magi without apparently connecting them with Zoroaster".[28] Although our evidence is much too fragmentary for such a conclusion, his younger contemporary Ktesias does seem to have called Zoroaster a Magus.[29]

Xanthos' *magoi* do not look like 'charlatans', and neither do they, on the whole, in the work of Herodotus, who is still our best source on the position and nature of the earlier *magoi*. It is striking that the 'father of history' nowhere feels the need to introduce the *magoi*, but evidently presupposes familiarity with them on the part of his readers. According to Herodotus, they were specialists in the interpretation of dreams (1.107–8, 120, 128; 7.19) and solar eclipses (7.37). They were also indispensable for libations (7.43) and for sacrifices (7.113–4, 191), where they sang a theogony (1.132). Moreover, they observed the rites of exposure and killed noxious creatures (1.140). At least one of these characteristics recurs in the early fifth-century Elamite tablets found in Persepolis, where Magi receive wine for their exclusively Magian *lan* ritual.[30]

It is only once that Herodotus seems to connect the Magi with magic. That is when he uses the term *pharmakeusantes*, 'hocus-pocus' (Van Groningen) for their ritual in his report of the horse sacrifice by the Magi during the Persian crossing of the Thracian river Strymon (7.114). The verb derives from *pharmakon*, 'philtre, medicine', which produced not only the male *pharmakeus*, 'sorcerer', but also the female *pharmakis*.[31] In a subtle article, the late Margot Schmidt (1932–2004) has pointed out that sorceresses were absent from the citizen women of classical Athens, since they lacked the social space to perform sorcery; whenever they are mentioned they are foreigners, such as Medea or

[27] For possible explanations of the form see most recently I. Gershevitch, "Approaches to Zoroaster's Gathas," *Iran* 33 (1995) 19–24; R. Schmitt, "Onomastica Iranica Platonica," in C. Mueller-Goldingen and K. Sier (eds.), *Lenaika. Festschrift für Carl Werner Müller* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996) 81–102 at 93–8 and "Iranische Personennahmen bei Aristoteles," in *Paitimana. Essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt* (Costa Mesa, 2003) 275–99 at 283f.

[28] A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1975) 142.

[29] Ktesias *FGrH* 690 F 1f; Kephalion *FGrH* 93 F 1 with Jacoby.

[30] Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, I, 258; M. Handley-Schachler, "The *lan* Ritual in the Persepolis Fortification Texts," in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: essays in memory of David M. Lewis* (Leiden, 1998) 195–204.

[31] For the terms see W. Artelt, *Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe Heilmittel und Gift* = *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin* 23 (Leipzig, 1937) 38–96.

the Thessalian sorceresses of the *Clouds* (749).[32] This Athenian social condition, which may well have been prevalent in the whole of Greece, will also be the reason why both *magos* and *goês* (below) lacked female equivalents.[33] Considering the etymology, the term *pharmakis* was probably once limited to a woman who collected herbs for magic,[34] but gradually it must have absorbed (or: been ascribed) qualities from the male sorcerers.

After this brief excursion into Greek gender problems, let us now return to male magicians. Some of Herodotus' information about the Magi recurs in Xenophon's *Cyropaedy*, where they have to sing hymns to all the gods at sunrise (8.1.23) and to chose the gods to whom to sacrifice (8.1.23, 3.11). From Xenophon's younger contemporaries, Dino mentions that the Magi were interpreters of dreams (*FGrH* 690 F 10), and Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 64), in perhaps the most interesting information of it all, that the Magi taught the resurrection.[35]

In addition to these historians, it is especially the philosophers who were interested in the Magi. Plato's pupil Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 68) wrote a dialogue *Zoroaster*, which, presumably, featured his Magus who had circumnavigated Africa before visiting the court of Gelo at Syracuse (fr. 69–70). According to Aristotle in his *On Philosophy* (fr. 6), the Magi were older than the Egyptians, and in his *Metaphysics* (1091b8) he included them among those who hold that 'good' is the source of all;[36] other details can be found in his pupils Eudemus (fr. 89), Clearchus (fr. 13) and Aristoxenus (fr. 13). This Peripatetic interest makes it even more likely that the almost certainly spurious Platonic dialogue *Alcibiades Maior* has to be assigned to the same milieu,[37] since it mentions that Persian educators teach their youths "the *mageia* of Zoroaster,

[32] Schmidt, "Sorceresses," 60.

[33] *Magos* is not used for females until the Roman period, cf. *Anth.Pal.* 5.16; Lucian, *Asin.* 4; Aesop. 117 Halm; *Et. Magnum* 103, 18. Latin *maga* first appears in Sen. *HO* 523, 526. For the Latin terminology see now J. Rives, "Magus and its Cognates in Classical Latin," in R. Gordon and F. Marco (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (Leiden, 2008).

[34] For women using herbs in magic see *Od.* 4.220 (Helen), 10.213 (Kirke); Soph. fr. 534 (Medea); Melanippides *PGM* 757 (Danaids); AR 4.50–4.

[35] De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, 224–5; idem, "Shadow and Resurrection," *Bull. Asia Inst.* NS 9 (1995 [1997]) 215–24; Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 47–50.

[36] For Aristotle and the Magi see also J. Rives, "Aristotle, Antisthenes of Rhodes and the *Magikos*," *RhM* 147 (2004) 35–54.

[37] H.J. Krämer, in H. Flashar (ed.), *Die Philosophie der Antike. 3: Ältere Akademie, Aristoteles, Peripatos* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1983) 124.

the son of Horomadzos: that is the cult of the gods" (1.122a). The explanation is clearly apologetic, just as Aristotle (fr. 36) and Dino (*FGrH* 690 F 5) had already denied that the Magi practised 'black magic' (*goêtikên mageian*).

Having looked at all the testimonies regarding Magi and *magoi* in the fifth and fourth centuries, we can now draw the following conclusion: in tragedy, rhetorical treatises and earlier philosophy, *magos* is a term of abuse, whereas historians and Aristotelian philosophers tend to take the Magi seriously. The two traditions converge, so to speak, in the late fourth century when the second group asserts the claims of the 'real' Magi against the abusive interpretation of the first group. Moreover, the abusive usage of *magos* is hardly attested before the 420s in Athens, when we suddenly start to find a whole cluster of references.

This development has not been taken into account in the most two recent explanations for the semantic development from Magus to magician. According to Peter Kingsley the Magi were always magicians in the eyes of the Greeks, since they controlled the weather and knew how to return from the dead.[38] However, attempts at controlling the weather were perfectly normal in Greek religion,[39] and Magical returns from the dead are not attested before Roman times.[40]

Fritz Graf, on the other hand, has looked for an explanation in Tylorian terms. In his *Primitive Culture*, Edward Tylor (1832–1917), one of the founding fathers of social anthropology and the history of religion, observes that many cultures called their neighbours 'magician', such as the southern Scandinavians did with the Lapps and Finns.[41] However, like Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) in his classic study of magic, Tylor also

[38] P. Kingsley, "Greeks, Shamans and Magi," *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994) 187–98; see also his interesting but usually over-confident *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic* (Oxford, 1995) 225f.

[39] P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910) 146–53; J. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1927^2) 76–82; W. Fiedler, *Studien zum antiken Wetterzauber* (Diss. Würzburg, 1930); M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich, 1967^3) 116–7; M. Blöcker, "Wetterzauber. Zu einem Glaubenskomplex des frühen Mittelalters," *Francia* 9 (1981) 117–31; A. Mastrocinque, "Magia agraria nell'impero cristiano," *Mediterraneo Antico* 7 (2004) 795–836; F. Graf, "9. Wetterriten," in *ThesCRA* III, 298f.

[40] Lucian, *Nec.* 6; Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du Mage Kirdir, textes et concordances* (Paris, 1991).

[41] C.-H. Tillhagen, "Finnen und Lappen als Zauberkundige in der skandinavischen Volksüberlieferung," in *Kontakte und Grenzen. Probleme der Volks-, Kultur- und Sozialforschung. Festschrift Für Gerhard Heilfurth zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1969) 129–43.

observed that these neighbours are usually of a lesser development.[42] Now there can be little doubt that the Greeks in general, and the Athenians in particular, had developed a rhetoric in which the Persians were 'the Other', the opponents whose despotism, slavishness, luxury and cruelty were the exact opposite of all the virtues of the Greeks.[43] At the same time, though, they had been highly impressed by the Persians and in many spheres of life busily copied them.[44] One can thus hardly say that they looked down on Persia in the same way in which southern Scandinavians once viewed Lapps and Finns. Although the element of 'the Other' may well have played a role, there is, I suggest, also a more concrete reason as to why the Greeks came to consider the Magi as magicians.

Before coming to that reason, let us first look at the question as to when the Greeks will have first witnessed Magi. According to (Pseudo?-) Aristotle (fr. 32) a Syrian Magus had predicted a violent death for Socrates, but this anecdote is just as untrustworthy as Seneca's report that Magi were present in Athens at the moment of Plato's death and had sacrificed to him—a story which looks like an invention by his later followers, who even claimed that Magi had come to Athens to learn from Plato.[45] Although these notices are unreliable, the Ionians must already have had opportunities to see Magi, who probably also accompanied Xerxes in AD 480, in the later sixth century. As in his *Acharnians* (91–122: 425 BC) Aristophanes parodies an embassy scene which assumes knowledge of a Persian embassy on the part of his audience,[46] Magi may also have been intermittently witnessed during such Persian visits in the course of the fifth century.[47] The fact that teachings

[42] E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols (London, 1871), vol. I = *The Collected Works of Edward Burnett Tylor* III (London, 1994) 102–4; M. Mauss, "Théorie générale de la magie," *L'Année sociologique* 7 (1902–03) 1–146 at 26–27 = Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris, 1950) 23 = Mauss, *A General theory of Magic*, tr. R. Brain (New York, 1972) 31.

[43] Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 56–100 and *passim*.

[44] See the splendid overview by M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC* (Cambridge, 1997); W. Gauer, "Die Aegaeis, Hellas und die Barbaren," *Saeculum* 49 (1998) 22–60.

[45] Sen. *Ep.* 58.31, cf. P. Boyancé, *Le culte des muses chez les philosophes grecs* (Paris, 1972²) 255 note 3; L.G. Westerink (ed.), *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (Amsterdam, 1962) 15: 6.20–2.

[46] C. Chiasson, "Pseudartabas and his eunuchs: *Acharnians* 91–122," *Class. Philol.* 79 (1984) 131–6.

[47] Embassies could make a lasting impression, as is well illustrated by the visit of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos to the Council of Ferrara of AD 1438,

of the Magi about the gods, the soul and demons become increasingly visible in the course of the fifth century is another indication of close Greek contacts with their Oriental neigbours.[48]

However this may be, we move onto firmer ground with a different notice. It is now forty years ago that in Derveni, a few kilometres from modern Saloniki, Greek excavators discovered the completely charred top of a papyrus roll on the funeral pyre in a tomb of about 300 BC. More than 200 fragments were recovered which together make up more than 24 columns of text. The content proves to be an allegorical commentary on an Orphic theogony in terms of Presocratic physics, the original text of which must have been written around 420–400 BC.[49] The commentary constitutes the largest parts of the extant papyrus (20 columns), but it is preceded by a much shorter theological introduction (6 columns). This part was already known, but more fragments were published in 1997 and they, rather unexpectedly, revealed the activity of *magoi*. In column VI we read:

> …prayers and sacrifices appease the souls, and the incantation (*epôidê*) of the *magoi* is able to drive away the *daimones* when they get in the way. *Daimones* in the way are enemies to souls. This is why the *magoi* perform the sacrifice, just as if they were paying a penalty (…) And on the offerings they pour water and milk, from which they also make the libations (…) Initiates make preliminary sacrifices to the Eumenides in the same way as the *magoi* do; for the Eumenides are souls.[50]

There are many interesting aspects to this fragment,[51] but for our purpose we will only discuss three of them. First, it seems now reasonable to assume that at the end of the fifth century wandering *magoi* (be it

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which is often reflected in contemporary paintings, cf. Miller, *Athens and Persia*, 90; add C. Ginzburg, *Indagine su Piero* (Turin, 1994[2]) 35–7, 82–4.

[48] See the rich exposition by Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 99–124.

[49] A. Laks and G. Most (eds.), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford, 1997) 56 note 56 (Ch. Kahn: *ca*. 400 BC) 174 note 32 (W. Burkert: *ca*. 420–400 BC); D. Sider, 138, who wonders whether this is not even too early.

[50] See now the official edition by T. Kouremenos *et al*., *The Derveni Papyrus* (Florence, 2006), still to be used with the preliminary edition and translation by R. Janko, "The Derveni Papyrus: An Interim Text," *ZPE* 141 (2002) 1–62; A. Bernabé, *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Poetae Epici Graeci. Pars II. Fasc. 3* (Munich and Leipzig, 2007) 169–269.

[51] K. Tsantsanoglou, "The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus and Their Religious Significance," in Laks and Most, *Studies*, 93–128; A. Henrichs, "Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen," in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Festschrift für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998) 33–71 at 33–5.

Persian or Hellenised ones) were present in the Greek world precisely at the moment that we find the first references to 'magical' *magoi*. Unfortunately, we cannot say exactly where these private *magoi* practised, since nothing is known about the authorship or place of composition of the original text. Many possibilities have been canvassed, from Stesimbrotus to Prodicus, but none is really convincing.[52] The fact that the dialect is Ionic with an Attic overlay might suggest some connection with Athens,[53] but a recent study of the dialect of the mythographic fragments shows that at the end of the fifth century Ionic writers, who may have had no personal connection with Attica, already started to adopt Attic forms.[54] In any case, more than a century later the Athenian historian Philochorus did indeed read the commentary.[55]

Secondly, whereas libations of milk are attested for the *Avesta* and recur in Strabo's description of the Cappadocian Magi,[56] water seems to have been completely absent from Zoroastrian libations. Geo Widengren has compared the beaker with water in the Mithraic mysteries, but none of his many examples mentions Zoroastrian libations of water.[57] In other words, the author (or his Magi) must have adapted their rites to those of the Greeks, who actually did libate with water.[58] Thirdly, the *magoi* use incantations: the term used, *epôidê*, is typical for a charm and

[52] The various suggestions have been listed and refuted by R. Janko, "The Physicist as Hierophant," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 61–94, whose own suggestion, Diagoras, is hardly more persuasive.

[53] Janko, "The Physicist," 62.

[54] R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* I (Oxford, 2000) xliv–xlv.

[55] D. Obbink, "A Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus in Philodemus," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994) 1–39.

[56] Strabo 15.3.14 with the detailed discussion by De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, 139–42. For Cappadocian Magi note also M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*, 2 vols (The Hague, 1956–1960) I.50 no. 19; *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* II.404; *SEG* 52.1166 (Lydian *magoi*).

[57] G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965) 181–4, followed by Henrichs, "Dromena," 46; for water in the Mithraeic mysteries see also R. Gordon, *Image and Value in the Greco-Roman World* (Aldershot, 1996) VI.122–4.

[58] F. Graf, "Milch, Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual," in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1969) 209–21; A. Henrichs, "The Eumenides and wineless libation in the Derveni papyrus," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Naples, 1984) 255–68.

as such already occurs in Homer;[59] it also fits the frequent references to the singing of the Magi.[60]

The activity of these *magoi* may well have given rise to a negative valuation for two reasons in particular. First, the incomprehensibility of their Avestan will have suggested *voces magicae* and possibly influenced Euripides' picture of the 'barbarous songs' of Iphigeneia (above).[61] Secondly, unlike Greek priests the Magi customarily whispered their Avestan and other ritual texts in a very low voice: Prudentius' *Zoroastreos susurros* (*Apoth.* 494).[62] This whispering must have made the activities of Magi look like 'magical' rites in the eyes of the ancients, since murmuring was closely associated with magic by both Greeks and Romans.[63] In addition to them being 'the Other', there are then also two very concrete reasons as to why Greeks will have looked at the Persian Magi as sorcerers. Although the Greeks must have seen Magi before, the available evidence strongly suggests that familiarity with wandering Magi became much stronger in the final decades of the fifth century, as is also illustrated by (directly or indirectly) the Derveni papyrus. The areas where this development took place must have been

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[59] G. Lanata, *Medicina magica e religione popolare in Grecia fino all'età di Ippocrate* (Rome, 1967) 46–51; Boyancé, *Le culte*, 33–59; W.D. Furley, "Besprechung und Behandlung. Zur Form und Funktion von EPÔIDAI in der griechischen Zaubermedizin," in G.W. Most *et al.* (eds.), *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1993) 80–104; M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 327.

[60] Hdt. 7.191; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.23; Curt. Ruf. 3.3.9, 5.1.22; Catullus 90.5; Strabo 15.3.14; Dio Chrys. 36.39, 42; Paus. 5.27.5. For an excellent discussion see De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, 362–4.

[61] On the *voces magicae* see now W.M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3380–3684 at 3429–38; H.S. Versnel, "The Poetics of the Magical Charm: An Essay on the Power of Words," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), M*agic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002) 105–58.

[62] As is frequently attested, cf. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages helléniés*, 2 vols (Paris, 1938) II, 112–3, 245, 285–6; Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, 249–50; J.C. Greenfield, "*rtyn mgwsy*," in S. Hoenig and L. Stitskin (eds.), *Joshua Finkel Festschrift* (New York, 1974) 63–9.

[63] Admittedly, our first Greek examples are only Hellenistic, but they are so widespread and persistent, that it seems hyper-critical not to assume the same for classical times, cf. Theocr. 2.11, 62: Orpheus, *Lith.* 320; Lucian, *Nec.* 7; Ach. Tat. 2.7; Heliod. 6.14.4; L. Soverini, "Hermes, Afrodite e il susurro nella Grecia antica," in S. Alessandri (ed.), *Historie. Studi Giuseppe Nenci* (Galabina, 1994) 183–210; L. Moscadi, "'Murmur' nella terminologia magica," *SIFC* 48 (1976) 254–62; E. Valette-Cagnac, *La lecture à Rome* (s.l., 1997) 42–7; P.W. van der Horst, *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity* (Leuven, 1998^2) 300–02; D.K. van Mal-Maeder, *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses: Livre II* (Groningen, 2001) 60.

Ionia and Athens, exactly where we would have suspected the possible presence of Magi.

Now in religion, as of course in economics, it is not enough to prove a 'supply', but there must also be a 'demand' from religious 'consumers'. Fortunately, this 'demand' is well attested in late fifth-century Athens, where we witness a growing dissatisfaction with traditional religion and an increasing interest in private cults.[64] The presence of privately practising Magi perfectly fits this development.

The development did not mean that from that moment on *magos/mageia* became the ruling designation for the area of magic, witchcraft and sorcery. The Greeks had already the terms *goês/goêteia*,[65] which continued to remain popular next to *magos/mageia*, perhaps even more popular, since Demosthenes, for example, uses *goês* not *magos* in his insults.[66] As Greek linguistic purists of the Roman period considered *goês* 'more Attic' than *magos*,[67] *mageia* and cognates never became really popular in later Greek culture. The Romans lacked this prejudice and thus used *magia*, *magicus* and *magus/maga* much more frequently than the Greeks ever did.[68] However, the status of the Persian Magi always remained a positive factor in the valuation of the term *magos/magus*, as was still the case in early modern Europe,[69] and later 'magicians' therefore called themselves not *goês* or *pharmakeus*, but *magos/magus*.

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[64] J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999[2]) 84–97.

[65] G. Delling, "*goês*," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* I (1933) 737–8; M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (London, 1978) 69–70; S.I. Johnston, *Restless Dead* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1999) 102–23; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* III (Göttingen, 2006) 173–90.

[66] Dem. 18.276, 19.102, 109 and 29.32.

[67] Phrynichus 56.8 de Borries.

[68] F.M. Simón, "La emergencia de la magia como sistema de alteridad en la Roma del siglo I d. C.," *MHNH* 1 (2001) 105–32; L. Baldini Moscadi, *Magica musa: la magia dei poeti latini, figure e funzioni* (Bologna, 2005).

[69] S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the ideas of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997) 215–6, 232, 247.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ANAPHE, APOLLO AIGLÊTÊS AND THE ORIGIN OF ASCLEPIUS

In the summer of 1903 the greatest classical scholar of his time, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931) celebrated his silver wedding by offering his wife a journey to Greece. Naturally, he visited Thera, which his son-in-law Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen (1864–1947) had excavated at his own expense.[1] Unfortunately, the death of his father-in-law Theodor Mommsen (b. 1817) on 1 November caused him to break off his visit to Thera,[2] but not before he had noticed that, 'in die Abendsonne schien die nahe Insel Anaphe Feuer zu fangen; danach heisst sie'.[3] His etymology, even if misguided from a modern etymological perspective,[4] is of course taken from Apollonius of Rhodes (4.1718), who in a short passage in the fourth book of his *Argonautica* briefly mentions a local Anaphiote festival that will be the subject of this chapter.

After the Argonauts had left Crete, they were terrified by a sudden, extreme darkness. Jason therefore called upon Apollo to save them. The prayer recalls Jason's prayer to Apollo at the beginning of the Argonauts' journey (1.411–24) and thus completes the frame of the *Argonautica*.[5] The god heard his prayer, leapt to the top of one of the Melantian

[1] F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera; Untersuchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1859–[1902]*, 4 vols (Berlin, 1899–1909).

[2] See his letter of 26 December 1903 to Gilbert Murray in A. Bierl, W.M. Calder III, R.L. Fowler, *The Prussian and the Poet* (Hildesheim, 1991) 58–9 and his letter of 20 November 1903 to Friedrich Althoff in W.M. Calder III and A. Košenina, *Berufungspolitik innerhalb der Altertumswissenschaft im wilhelminischen Preussen. Die Briefe Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff an Friedrich Althoff (1833–1908)* (Frankfurt, 1989) 153. For Mommsen's death see S. Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen. Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2002) 221.

[3] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1930^2) 271. The distance between the two islands is about fifteen miles over open sea. For Anaphe's proximity to Thera see also Call. fr. 7.23; AR 4.1744; Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 49.

[4] The etymology is also mentioned by Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 49; *Orphica Argonautica* 1357f.

[5] A. Harder, "Aspects of the Structure of Callimachus' *Aitia*," in *eadem et al.* (eds.), *Callimachus* (Groningen, 1993) 99–110 at 106f.

rocks and lifted up his bow high.[6] His weapon shone in all directions 'with a gleaming brilliance (*aiglê*)' and:

> Before their eyes a small island of the Sporades appeared, near the little island of Hippouris; there they threw out their anchor stones and made a stop. Soon came the light of dawn's rising, and in a shady grove they made a splendid sanctuary and altar of stones in Apollo's honour, and they called upon Phoebus with the title 'Gleamer' because of the gleam which had been visible afar off. The rugged island they called Anaphe ('Appearance') because Phoebus had caused it to appear to them in their wretchedness. They sacrificed what men might be expected to sacrifice on a deserted shore. That is why Medea's Phaeacian servants, when they saw them pouring libations of water over the burning wood, could no longer hold their laughter within their breasts, as they had constantly seen sacrifices of cattle in great numbers in the house of Alcinous. The heroes in turn mocked them with unseemly words, delighted as they were with their jesting, and this kindled a sweet exchange of abuse and mutual wrangling. As a result of that heroes' merry-making, the women still compete with the men in this way on the island whenever they propitiate with sacrifices Apollo the Gleamer, guardian of Anaphe (1711–30, tr. R. Hunter, slightly adapted).

Not only Apollonius, but also Callimachus (fr. 7.23–4, frr. 19–21), Conon (*FGrH* 26 F 1, 29),[7] Apollodorus (1.9.26) and the *Orphica Argonautica* (1357–8) have written about the same episode, even if in a much briefer compass. In the last decade, Annette Harder, Richard Hunter and Alan Cameron have concentrated on the problem of priority regarding Callimachus' treatment of the same episode and its position in the work of Apollonius. Like others before and after them,[8] they reached the conclusion that Callimachus must have been Apollonius' source, although Harder has recently argued for a more dynamic model in which both poets influenced one another.[9] Cameron even concludes that Apollonius acknowledged his debt to Callimachus "by assigning

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[6] For the notion of darkness in the name of the Melantian rocks see M. Paschalis, "Anaphe, Delos and the Melantian rocks: (Ap. Rhod. 4, 1694–1730 and *Orph. Arg.* 1353–1359)," *Mnemosyne* IV 47 (1994) 224–6.

[7] M.K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (Munich and Leipzig, 2002) 338–43.

[8] See, for example, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin, 1886) 92 note 71; Pfeiffer *ad loc.*; E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin, 1961); P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1972) II.899 note 176; G. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford, 1988) 87–8; A. Köhnken, "Apoll-Aitien bei Kallimachos und Apollonios," in D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin (eds.), *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges offerts à F. Vian* (Alessandria, 2003) 207–13 at 207 note 4.

[9] M.A. Harder, "Intertextuality in Callimachus' Aetia," *Entretiens Hardt* 48 (2002) 189–233 at 223.

him the place of honour at the close of his final book".[10] Of the two other sources, Conon may well have used local histories rather than Callimachus,[11] whereas Apollodorus seems to have followed mainly Apollonius, although he usually made use of excerpts, summaries or commentaries that were continuously contaminated.[12]

In the last few decades,[13] Livrea seems to have been the only scholar to pay more detailed attention to the Apollonian episode in his commentary on Apollonius IV.[14] As he largely limited himself to philological observations, there is room for a new analysis of the episode. Although I will not totally neglect its literary side, the emphasis will be on the religious and ritual aspects of the passage. I will look first at the initial stage of the episode (§ 1), then discuss Apollo's epithets Aiglêtes and Asgelatas as well as the birth of Asclepius (§ 2) and conclude with the ritual proper (§ 3).

1. *The initial stage*

As Apollonius relates, the Argonauts reached Anaphe just before "the light of dawn's rising" (1713–4).[15] Susan Stephens has compared our episode to Egyptian cosmogonic accounts, in which the appearance of a small island from watery chaos "signaled the beginning of the Egyptian universe".[16] The association is perhaps not impossible, but the text

[10] A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Oxford, 1995) 250–3.

[11] Thus A. Henrichs, "Three Approaches to Greek Mythography," in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and New York, 1988[2]) 242–77 at 269 note 11.

[12] For Apollodorus see this volume, Chapter V, section 1.

[13] For earlier times see M. Teufel, *Brauch und Ritus bei Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Tübingen, 1939) 186–96. More recently, R. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies* (Oxford, 1993) 85, 123, 167 makes some observations on the place of our passage in the structure of the poem; R.J. Clare, *The Path of the Argo* (Cambridge, 2002) 160–1, 165 comments on the epiphany of Apollo; P. Chuvin, "Anaphé ou la dernière épreuve des Argonautes," in Accorinti and Chuvin, *Des Géants à Dionysos*, 215–21 proposes an unpersuasive etymology of the name of the Argonauts' festival, and Köhnken, "Apoll-Aitien," 207–11 makes some characteristically shrewd remarks on the aetiological aspects of the passage.

[14] E. Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus* (Florence, 1973).

[15] Apollonius and Call. fr. 18.8, 20 (with Pfeiffer) mention darkness, whereas Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 49; Apollod. 1.9.26; *Orph. Arg.* 1353–55 and Steph. Byz. α 308 mention a storm. For the frequency of storms in this area see P. Brun, *Les archipels égéens dans l'antiquité grecque (V[e]–II[e] siècles av. notre ère)* (Paris, 1996) 38f.

[16] S. Stephens, *Seeing Double. Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2003) 209, 233 note 177.

does not stress the birth but the appearance of the island. Moreover, rather than to accounts of cosmogony, the text points the reader to the epiphany of Apollo and thus to the influence of Callimachus who in his *Hymn to Apollo* stresses the epiphanic side of the god,[17] rather than to accounts of cosmogony. That Apollonius is one of the rare authors to mention Apollo's epithet Eôios on Thynias and to connect it with the arrival of the Argonauts on this island off the Bithynian coast at dawn is fitting with the appearance of Apollo just before daybreak.[18]

We do not know whether Apollonius ever visited the island or whether his knowledge was from hearsay or descriptions by travelers, but there can be no doubt that he hit the nail on its head with his qualification of Anaphe as a 'small island' (1711–12). Its tribute of 1000 drachmai as a member of the Delian League points to a correspondingly low number of islanders,[19] and a first century BC vote of 95 citizens suggests a population of only a few hundred inhabitants on Anaphe at that time.[20]

Having landed, the Argonauts constructed both a sanctuary and altar for Apollo (1715). In the middle of the 18th century the Anaphiotes built the monastery of Panaghia Kalamiotissa, 'Our Lady of the Bullrushes', on the ruins of an ancient temple, as the ancient inscriptions everywhere in the monastery's walls still testify.[21] Zeus' visit to Cretan Ida, the site of his "*temenos*…and altar" (*Il.* VIII.48), illustrates the antiquity of the combination, which goes back to the Dark Age, as archeology has shown.[22] The place of construction was "a shady grove" (1715). The choice of location was certainly not by chance, since many of Apollo's sanctuaries were constructed outside the city

[17] A. Henrichs, "Gods in Action: the poetics of divine performance in the *Hymns* of Callimachus," in Harder, *Callimachus*, 127–47 at 145; Clare, *Path of the Argo*, 165.

[18] AR 2.686, 700; also mentioned by Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 48 = F 48 Fowler; *Et. Magnum* 352; Köhnken, "Apoll-Aitien," 209f.

[19] For its membership see *IG* I^3 71 I 85, 283 II 31, 287 I 9.

[20] *IG* XII 3, 249.39, cf. L. Robert, *Opera omnia selecta* III (Amsterdam, 1968) 1500 note 5; Brun, *Les archipels égéens*, 111.

[21] For a description of its ruins see R.A. McNeal, "Anaphe, Home of the Strangford Apollo," *Archaeology* 20 (1967) 254–63. For some photos see http://www. geocities. Com/Colosseum/2252/anaphi.html.monastery.

[22] This has been overlooked by Livrea *ad loc.*, but see *Il.* XXIII.23.148; *Od.* 8.363; Bacch. 11.110; Nikias *FGrH* 318 F 1; Plut. *M.* 308a; caustically, Photius s.v. βωμός· τέμενος; Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999^2) 27; M. Horster, *Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 24–5, 37.

and situated near a grove.[23] Understandably, shadow was a quality often connected with sacred groves,[24] but trees have a hard time in this particular area of the Mediterranean, as must have been the case on Anaphe. An Anaphiote inscription mentions only one olive tree, and in neighbouring Nisyros we hear of only a single acacia in a sanctuary of Apollo. Consequently, the Anaphiote grove can hardly have been a very impressive one; it may even owe its existence to Apollonius himself or parallels elsewhere.[25]

The choice of Apollo may have been dictated by literary considerations,[26] but the god was also the most prominent divinity of the island, witness the neglected notice by Cornutus (32) of an Apollo Anaphaios. It was indeed normal in Greece that the most important god received an epithet derived from his territory. Thus we find Athena Lindia on Lindos, Heracles Thasios on Thasos, Artemis Patmia on Patmos and of course Artemis Ephesia in Ephesus. Apollo Anaphaios nicely fits this custom.[27]

2. *Apollo's epithets and the birth of Asclepius*

However, we are not so much interested in Apollo in general, but rather intend to supply an aetiology for a specific Apollo: Apollo Aiglêtês.[28] Although connected with *aiglê*, 'gleam' by Apollonius (1716), Apollo's epithet is hardly crystal clear from a modern etymological perspective and has often puzzled scholars. The problem is aggravated by the mention of an Apollo Asgelatas and his festival Asgelaia in local inscriptions. Wilamowitz was the first to discuss the problem in detail, and he

[23] D.E. Birge, *Sacred groves in the ancient Greek world* (Diss. Berkeley, 1982) 18 ("the greatest number by far belong to Apollo"), 25–7; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 43; C. Jacob, "Paysage et bois sacré: ἄλσος dans la *Périégèse de la Grèce* de Pausanias," in J. Scheid (ed.), *Les bois sacrées* (Naples, 1993) 31–44; V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon* (Leiden, 1996) 141f.

[24] This has been overlooked by Livrea *ad loc*., but note *Od*. 20.278; *Hom. Hymn Aphrodite* 20; Stesichorus S 17.8–9; Thgn. 1252; Jacob, "Paysage et bois sacré," 43 note 147 with more examples.

[25] Anaphe: *IG* XII 3, 248. Nisyros: *IG* XII 3, 92. In general: Brun, *Les archipels égéens*, 46–54, who at 48 notes the small size of the trees in the area and the unlikelihood of the existence of the grove.

[26] Harder, "Aspects," 105–7.

[27] For these examples see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 51f.

[28] Cf. Strabo 10.5.1; Hsch. α 1736: Αἰγλήτην· ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος; *IG* XII 3. 248–9, 254, 259, 269, 412.

distinguished between the 'gebildeten dichter' who said Aiglêtês and the locals who said Asgelatas. At the same time, he argued with impressive erudition that the epithet could be explained by the name of Asclepius and actually meant an identification of Apollo with Asclepius.[29] Farnell, on the other hand, stated that Aiglêtês was "a later corruption of an original Asgelatas of which no one knows the meaning".[30] Nilsson made no progress beyond Farnell by wondering whether Anaphiote Apollo had an oracle, as there is no evidence whatsoever for such an oracle.[31]

A completely new turn was taken by Walter Burkert in 1984.[32] In a discussion of the influence of eastern magic and medicine in Greece,[33] he argued that it "is evident that Asgelatas is the *lectio difficilior*, hence older than Aiglatas". Now Asgelatas, Burkert continues, sounds perfectly identical with Akkadian *az(u)gallat(u)*, 'the great physician', the epithet of the Babylonian "Gula, the goddess of healing, patroness of dogs and dog-leaders".[34] He concludes: "Apollo Asgelatas, then, provides the most direct proof of the infiltration of charismatic practitioners of the eastern tradition into archaic Greece, parallel to the Gula bronzes found on Samos". In his discussion of Callimachus' version of the Anaphe episode, Cameron has accepted Burkert's results, which he refines as follows: "The original cult was actually Asgelatas, subsequently Hellenized and aetiologized as Aiglatas".[35]

As always, Burkert has presented his views in a most persuasive manner. Yet the common-sense-Dutchman in me could not but help

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[29] Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, 92–94.

[30] L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. IV (Oxford, 1907) 139.

[31] M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. I (Munich, 1967[3]) 545, whose earlier discussion in his *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906) 175–6 is not helpful either.

[32] W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992) 78–9, overlooked by Chuvin, "Anaphé, ou la dernière épreuve des Argonautes".

[33] For further interesting reflections on this theme see R. Rollinger, "Altorientalische Motivik in der frühgriechischen Literatur am Beispiel der homerischen Epen. Elemente des Kampfes in der Ilias und in der altorientalischen Literatur (nebst Überlegungen zur Präsenz altorientalischer Wanderpriester im früharchaischen Griechenland)," in Ch. Ulf (ed.), *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität* (Berlin, 1996) 156–210.

[34] In his review of the German edition of Burkert's book (1984), G. Neumann, *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachforschung* 98 (1985) 306, notes that *azugallatu* is the feminine form of *azugallu* and thus, in his opinion, hardly appropriate for Apollo; this objection has not been met by Burkert in his English version (but see below). M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 55 note 231 raises the same objection, but suggests that "perhaps we should think rather of this masculine (*azugallu*) as underlying the Greek forms. A *t* appears only in Asgelatas, where a Greek suffix may be assumed". But, surely, this suffix can hardly be otherwise than the relatively rare suffix *-atas* of Aiglatas.

[35] Cameron, *Callimachus*, 250 note 77.

wondering: if I were a Babylonian physician, would I then settle on Anaphe of all places? And what is actually our proof that Asgelatas derived from a Babylonian cult, but was later Hellenized and aetiologized as Aiglatas? As can be seen from my quotations, neither Burkert nor Cameron has produced any proof for this priority. So let us look again at these enigmatic epithets.

Our earliest testimony for the cult of (Apollo) Aiglêtês already dates from the late sixth century and thus refutes Cameron's suggestion (above) that the original cult was actually that of Asgelatas: it is a dedication to 'Aiglatas' on neighbouring Thera (*IG* XII 3, 412). A similar dedication from the same period on Anaphe itself (*IG* XII 3, 260) refutes Wilamowitz's hypothesis that Aiglêtês is a poetic and Asgelatas a local name. Moreover, the presence of the late sixth-century name Aiglatas in the Peloponnese confirms the antiquity of the epithet.[36] On the other hand, the first testimonies of Apollo Asgelatas and the festival Asgelaia do not occur before the second century BC (*IG* XII 3, 248–9). In other words, the available evidence strongly suggests that Asgelatas is later than Aiglatas and not the earlier form.

As my argument shows, Burkert's Akkadian interpretation of Asgelatas is not without difficulties. Does this mean that we should return to Wilamowitz's explanation that forms such as Asgelatas, Asklapios and Latin Aesculapius "zeigen denselben götternamen nur in verschiedener gestalt"?[37] To advance our insight into the problem, we have to investigate the various forms of Asclepius' name and the origin of his cult more systematically than has been done until now.[38] Leaving aside the more regular variants, I will look at Asclepius' name by starting from the area in which it is first attested and then follow its development through the Greek continent. In this way we may perhaps reach a

[36] *IG* V 1, 222 = *CEG* 1.374 (*ca.* 530–500). Note also the examples from Arcadia (*SEG* 31.348, 21: *ca.* 400–350) and Athens (*IG* II² 6559: Hellenistic). The latter was perhaps a late effect of Anaphe's membership of the Delian League. The epithet is not mentioned by A. Leukart, *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tas und -as* (Vienna, 1994), but G. Neumann, "Beiträge zum Kyprischen XX," *Kadmos* 40 (2001) 177–86 at 182 compares other epithets of Apollo such as Aguiatês, Myrtatês, Zoteatas, Thoratês or Kereatas.

[37] Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, 93.

[38] See the most recent studies of the god: B. Holtzman, "Asklepios," in *LIMC* II.1 (1984) 863–97; F. Graf and A. Ley, "Asklepios," in *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 94–100; C. Benedau, "Betrachtungen zu Asklepios und dem Aesculapius der Römer," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* 25 (2001) 187–207.

better understanding of both the meaning of Aiglatas and the origin of the form Asgelatas.[39]

The oldest mention of Asclepius occurs in the *Iliad* (II.731), where two of his sons, Podaleirios and Machaon,[40] lead the North-Western Thessalian contingents from Trikka,[41] Oechalia, and Ithome.[42] However, Asklêpios was not the typically Thessalian form of the name. That must have been Askalapios, witness the remarkable Thessalian plural Askalapioi (*SEG* 43.280), and the Thessalian names Askalapios (*IG* IX 2, 397; *Arch. Ephem*. 1913, 218; *SEG* 47.729), Askalapichos (*SEG* 51.711 A.5, B.28) and Askalapi(a)das.[43] The form Asklêpios is probably the result of epic influence, since Askalapios does not fit dactylic verse.

After Thessaly, the oldest mention of Asclepius' cult seems to be from Corinth, where we find the fifth-century Aischlabios (*IG* IV 356 = XIV 2282). From there, Asclepius probably travelled to the Peloponnese, where we find Aisklapios and Asklapios,[44] and, seemingly somewhat later, to Boeotia, where we find other variants: the mid-third-century Aschlapios (*IG* VII.3191, 3192) and Aschlapiôn (*IG* VII.2716); the same beginning of the name, but then starting with Ais-, is presupposed by Orchomenan Aischlapichios (Collitz 476).[45] Several of these variations also occur in Latin. The form most closely similar to the Greek is Aisclapios (*CIL* XI.6708), which looks like a straight import from Epidaurus, with Aesclapius (*CIL* III.1766–7, V.727–8) coming as a good second.

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[39] I build upon the material and insights of Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, 92–93 and E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen: mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus* (Leiden, 1972) 295f. For other discussions of the alternation Aiglatas/Asgelatas see F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1921–24) II.1–2; A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. J. Pokorny, 3 vols (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927–32) I.11–12; E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2 vols (Munich, 1939) I.276; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols (Heidelberg, 1954–72) I.32.

[40] For such double leadership see this volume, Chapter IV, note 11.

[41] Thessalian Trikka was an important centre in ancient times, cf. E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997) 692–3. For excavations at Trikka see D. Theocharis, *Arch. Delt*. 15 (1960) Chron. 169–70; 20 (1965) Chron. 2,313ff.; 21 (1966) Chron. 2.247ff.

[42] For the geographical location and status of all three places see Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*, 691–98. For the the location of Oechalia see also Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*, 516–19; R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 291–2, with interesting observations on the earliest history of the epic *Oichalias Halosis*.

[43] *IG* IX 2.66a, 1143; *BCH* 59.25; *SEG* 31.575, where H.W. Pleket (at *SEG* 49.1540) also considers Ask[a]lapidas.

[44] *IG* IV.771, 1202–3 (Troizen); *IG* IV.²1, 1.116, 136, 151 and *IAEpid* 69 (Epidaurus); *SEG* 11.207, 1268 (Corinth).

[45] For the expansion of Asclepius' cult see the survey in R. Martin and H. Metzger, *La religion grecque* (Paris, 1976) 62–68.

But Latin also knows Aiscolapius and Aescolapius,[46] Aisculapius (*CIL* VI.12; *ILS* 3840–6), Esculapius (*ILS* 3838) and even Asculapius.[47]

Yet this is not the whole story of Asclepius' name. In the last quarter of the fifth century BC, the Athenian comedy writer Hermippus published an iambic poem on Asclepius, in which he called the god's youngest daughter Aiglê (fr. 1).[48] The poem was probably written before the introduction of Asclepius' cult in Athens on the 18th Boedromion, 420/19 BC. It may well have drawn on a non-Athenian (Epidaurian?) source, which was perhaps the same as that of the famous Erythraean paean to Asclepius (380–360 BC), which also mentions Aiglê as Asclepius' daughter (13). However, in the late fourth-century paean by Isyllus, found in Asclepius' temple in Epidaurus, Aiglê had moved up to become the god's mother (46).[49] We may connect Asclepius' name 'Aiglaêr', as handed down by Hesychius (α 1728), with her name. Both names suggest that in the Central and Southern Peloponnese, but not in Attica/Ionia, Boeotia and Thessaly, Asclepius' name was re-interpreted as the 'Gleamer' by connecting its first half with Greek *aiglê*, 'gleam'.[50] The same etymologization will be behind the Peloponnesian spelling Aiglapios of Asclepius.[51] In turn, the Spartan variant Aglapios (*IG* V 1, 1313) may have given rise to Hesychius' gloss: Ἀγλαόπης· ὁ Ἀσκληπιός Λάκωνες (α 604), as it suggests the presence of *aglaos*, another word etymologically connected with 'gleam'. Although the qualification 'gleaming' is not normally associated with the gods, it is not impossible: the Metapontines worshipped a Zeus Agla(i)os.[52]

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[46] Aiscolapius: *CIL* VI.30843, 30845; VIII.8782, 18018; *A(nnée)E(pigraphique)* 1915, 30; *ILS* 3834–5. Aescolapius: *CIL* VI.30843, 30846; *AE* 1986, 120a.

[47] *AE* 1934, 252; 1936, p. 41 s. n. 127; 1938, p. 44 s. n. 142; 1945, p. 25 s. n. 78; 1948, p. 33 s. n. 82.

[48] Note also Pliny, *NH* 35.107; Aristides 46.4. Is this Asclepian name behind the Latin names Aegla and Egla? Cf. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, 3 vols (Berlin and New York, 2003²) I.573.

[49] For the texts and a discussion of these paeans see now W.D. Furley and J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 2001) I.207–14, II.161–67; A. Kolde, *Politique et religion chez Isyllos d'Epidaure* (Basel, 2003).

[50] *Contra* Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen*, 296 who distinguishes insufficiently between the various dialectal forms of Asclepius.

[51] L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* I (Paris, 1936) 45; R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach, *Asylieurkunden aus Kos*, Abh. Berlin, Klasse f. Sprachen 1952, I, no. 4 (Spartan); *SNG* Berry 871 (Arcadian Stymphalos), cf. G. Manganaro, *ASNP* III 20 (1990) 420–1; *SEG* 51.444.

[52] L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce* II (Geneva, 2002) no. 43–4, who on p. 101 wrongly states that the epithet in Homer designates 'dieux et héros'.

This discussion demonstrates that Apollo's epithet Aiglatas (Aiglêtês) has to be connected to a Peloponnesian cult figure, whose name suggested a connection with 'gleam' (Aiglaêr, Aiglapios, Aglaopês) to his worshippers, as is also suggested by Apollonius' etymology.[53] Now the earliest dedication in Thera (above) mentions only Aiglatas, who must go back at least to the sixth century, if not earlier, witness his occurrence as a herophoric name in the Peloponnese in that period. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that Aiglatas was originally independent from Asclepius, but in the course of the fifth century became identified with him. The combination of Apollo and Aiglatas on Anaphe will have been the result of the rapprochement of Apollo with Asclepius, since the cult of Asclepius started as a subsidiary of the existing cults of Apollo in Corinth and Epidaurus.[54]

What conclusions can now be drawn regarding the origin of Asclepius? As we have seen above, the oldest Greek tradition, as encapsulated by Homer, associated Asclepius with Thessaly. This geographical location cannot be accidental. Asclepius was the son of Apollo and Koronis, the daughter of Thessalian Phlegyas (Hes. fr. 60; Pind. *P.* 3.8); the earliest coin showing Asclepius is from Larissa (*BMC* 7, s.v. Larissa), and Strabo (9.5.17) states that Asclepius' oldest sanctuary was at Trikka, as even Kos acknowledged (Herodas, *Mim.* 2.97, 4.1–2),[55] although archaeologists have not yet discovered it. Everything, then, points to Thessaly as the place of origin of Asclepius' cult.[56] As the many variations of his name strongly suggest a pre-Greek word,[57] the question rises whether we can make any progress regarding the determination of his origin.

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[53] This interpretation is also supported by the fact that Aglaiê is the name of one of the Charites in Hesiod, *Th.* 909, 945, and by Aiglê and Helios being the parents of the Charites in Antimachus fr. 140.

[54] Martin and Metzger, *La religion grecque*, 64f.

[55] Cf. Furley and Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, I.243–44, II.199–202.

[56] Note also *IG* IV.^{2}1, 128.29; Strabo 14.1.39; E. Aston, "Asclepius and the Legacy of Thessalia," *CQ* 54 (2004) 18–32.

[57] For a possible connection to a *Wanderwort* meaning 'mole' see most recently P. Schrijver, "Animal, vegetable and mineral: some Western European substratum words," in A. Lubotsky (ed.), *Sound Law and Analogy* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1997) 293–316 at 310; J.T. Katz, "How the mole and mongoose got their names: Sanskrit *ākhu-* and *nakulá-*," *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 122 (2002) 296–310. Unfortunately, the attempts by J. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropea* (Innsbruck, 1982) 285–9 to connect the mole to Asclepius and folk medicine are not very persuasive.

Now in the course of his discussion of Apollo's epithet Asgelatas, Burkert noted (1) a closeness in sound of Asgelat(as) and Akkadian *Az(u)gallat(u)*, 'great physician', the epithet of the Babylonian goddess Gula of Isin; (2) that Asgelatas "has a ring not too dissimilar from the name of Apollo's son Asklapios/Asclepius, which equally defies explanation" and (3) that Asclepius' frequent association with dogs closely corresponds to Gula's association with the dog.[58]

But how do these observations fit the Thessalian origin of Asclepius? The association of healing gods and dogs may seem strange to us, but both Greek and Near Eastern texts show that it was believed that dogs could lick off illnesses, just as Asclepius could wipe off diseases.[59] In view of the linguistic closeness of the first two syllables of Askalapios and Akakdian *Az(u)gallat(u)* as well as the functional and cultic parallels (both are healing divinities, both are represented with dogs), it seems a reasonable conclusion that a travelling Thessalian, perhaps a mercenary, had introduced a new god Askalapios on the basis of *Az(u)gallat(u)*: the presence of bronzes of Gula in the Heraion of Samos testifies to the attraction of the Babylonian goddess in Greece.[60]

However, does this mean that the Anaphiote epithet Asgelatas was a re-interpretion of the name of Aiglatas through the influence of *Az(u)gallat(u)*?[61] In the latter case we could postulate with Burkert a

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[58] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 77f. For Asclepius and dogs see also O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols (Munich, 1906) II.1145–47; E. Bevan, *Representations of animals in sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian deities*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1986) I.115–30. According to West, *East Face*, 55 the name of Asclepius' father, Arsippos, seems likely to be "a Hellenization of Resheph, especially as there were Hurrian and Punic forms of his name sounding something like Eršap". This is not impossible, but it seems more likely that in that case the name derived from North Syria, where it occurred as *ra-sa-ap* in Ebla and Akkadian, cf. J. Choi, "Resheph and YHWH SĒBĀ'ŌT," *Vetus Testamentum* 54 (2004) 17–28. In any case, the fact that Arsippos is not attested before Cic. *ND* 3.57 is hardly in favour of this interpretation; note also the linguistic doubts of R. Beekes, "The Origin of Apollo," *JANER* 3 (2003) 1–21 at 18 note 22.

[59] *IG* IV^2.1, 122; R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 216; G. Lorenz, "Asklepios, der Heiler mit dem Hund, und der Orient," in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.), *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen—Externe Impulse* (Berlin, 2004) 335–65 at 338–42.

[60] H. Kyrieleis, "Babylonische Bronzen im Heraion von Samos," *JDAI* 94 (1979) 32–48; J. Curtis, "Mesopotamian Bronzes from Greek Sites," *Iraq* 56 (1994) 1–25. But note the doubts of E. Braun-Holzinger and E. Rehm, *Orientalischer Import in Griechenland im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Münster, 2005) 88f.

[61] Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen*, 295 explains Asgelatas as deriving from *ἄσγλη, with anaptyxis *ἀσγέλη, a postulated variant of αἴγλη; similarly already, Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, II.1442. However, Rob Beekes (*per litteram*) points out that *-sg-* is normally preserved in Greek, as is demonstrated by the name of the Pelasgians.

Babylonian physician travelling to Greece. Yet no evidence about such travelling physicians exists.[62] On the other hand, Alcaeus' brother Antimenidas (fr. 350) fought as a mercenary for the Babylonians, and warring Ionians already appear in the last decades of the eighth century in Assyrian sources.[63] Could not one of them have settled on Anaphe and introduced Asgelatas there? Yet the first appearance of Asgelatas only in the second century BC speaks against a Babylonian influence of one kind or another. In the end, the epithet Asgelatas remains just as obscure as it was before the new interpretation of Burkert.

The connection of Aiglatas with Asclepius also implies that the Anaphiotes will have interpreted Apollo Aiglatas as a god connected with medicine. Such a conclusion is perhaps less surprising than it may look at first sight. In many places, Asclepius was associated with Apollo, whose epithets Iatros and Oulios point to a long-standing connection with medicine.[64] Was this also the case on Anaphe? We have indeed a splendid confirmation of this suspicion, since around 200 BC a certain Eugnomon dedicated a votive to Apollo Aiglêtês. His profession? He was an ἀρχίατρος, 'official physician' (*IG* XII 3, 259)!

On the other hand, unlike Callimachus,[65] Apollonius himself nowhere connects Apollo with medicine but solely associates him with light; he even re-interprets the god's 'healing' epithet Iêpaiêôn in that direction (2.700–13). Apollonius also regularly stresses that Apollo is unable to heal. When Zetes and Kalais have chased away the Harpies, Jason says to Phineus:

> There was indeed some god (*tis*… *theos*) caring for you, Phineus, in your grim wretchedness…if he would also grant light to your eyes, then I think that I would rejoice as much as if I had succeeded in returning back to my home (2.438–42, tr. Hunter).

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[62] Note also the doubts about Burkert's model in Braun-Holzinger and Rehm, *Orientalischer Import in Griechenland*, 178–81; I.S. Moyer, "Golden Fetters and Economies of Cultural Exchange," *JANER* 6 (2006) 225–56.

[63] For these mercenaries see West, *East Face*, 617–8; R. Rollinger, "Homer, Anatolien und die Levante," in Ch. Ulf (ed.), *Der neue Streit um Troia* (Munich, 2003) 330–48 (with translations of the Assyrian sources); this volume, Preface.

[64] A. Iatros: Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 250. A. Oulios: O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca selecta* III (Geneva, 2000) 20–31; J.-P. Morel, "'Ouli', de Velia à Olbia de Provence et à Marseille," in I. Berlingò (ed.), *Damarato* (Milano, 2000) 336–40; R. Capodicasa, "Apollo medico fra Grecia e Roma," *Atena e Roma* 48 (2003) 17–33; *SEG* 51.976.

[65] Call. *H.* 2.39–46, who also does not connect Iêpaiêôn with healing in 97ff.

The god alluded to is most likely Apollo, who is not only a seer like Phineus, but also the protector of the Argonauts. Yet Phineus immediately responds with: "Son of Aison, what has happened cannot be undone, nor will there be any remedy in the future" (2.444–5). In other words, Phineus is perfectly clear about the fact that even Apollo cannot heal him.

In the Apollonian episode of the Etesian winds, Aristaios is introduced as the son of Apollo and Kyrene, but his healing capacities are described as a gift from the Muses, not from his father (2.512), who was evidently also unable to resurrect his (unmentioned) son Asklepios (4.612–7). Finally, Apollonius stresses that not even Paian, normally an epithet of Apollo, could heal Mopsos after he was bitten by a snake (4.1511). In other words, in his epic Apollonius has completely dissociated Apollo from his function as healing god, even if the reality on Anaphe might have been rather different.

3. *The festival*

After this (all too) long detour, it is time to return to the Argonauts. When they had constructed their altar, they evidently did not have animals ready for a proper sacrifice. Instead they poured water on the altar.[66] The nature of the sacrifice caused great hilarity among the Phaeacian maidens who had been given by Alcinoos to Medea, as they had been accustomed to abundant sacrifices of cattle by the Phaeacians.[67] It is clear that we as readers are also expected to laugh at the poor quality of the Argonauts' sacrifice. Yet this laughter does not explain the strange prominence of water. Although neither Conon nor Apollodorus mention it, its presence in Apollonius is so striking that it must reflect a characteristic detail of the Anaphiote ritual.

Normally, however, water hardly had a place in Greek sacrifice, where mixed wine was the norm. When the comrades of Odysseus had sacrificed the oxen of the Sun, they closed their sacrifice with water because they lacked wine (*Od.* 12.362–3). Otherwise we hear of sacrificial water

[66] For the meaning of ἐπιλείβω see J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en Grec* (Paris, 1966) 271–2; add *I. Klaudiopolis* 78.

[67] For the gift of the twelve maidens see AR 4.1219–22; Call. fr. 21.5–7; Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, 49; Apollod. 1.9.26; Tzetzes on Lycophron 175.

only in the cult of Pan, (*AP* 6.42), of the Eumenides,[68] of Sosipolis (Paus. 6.20.2) and in funerary ritual.[69] Water is also preferred to wine by those who isolated themselves from normal life, such as Pythagoras, the Pythagoreans and their imitators, and the Cynics.[70] In other words, the presence of water marks the Anaphiote ritual as unusual.

The events that follow are equally unusual. The Argonauts 'retaliated' against the maidens' laughter by sweetly mocking them; this means that it was the women who started the sexual banter not the men—a significant detail that should not be overlooked. It was because of this event, according to Apollonius, that the women of Anaphe still compete with the men when they sacrifice to Apollo Aiglêtês. It is clear that the myth is meant to explain the detail in the ritual that struck the Greeks as the most strange. And indeed, a myth associated with a ritual does not necessarily reflect the ritual on a one-to-one basis, as the myth of the Lemnian women well illustrates. Although this myth was connected to the Lemnian New Year ritual that included the bringing of the new fire, it does not mention fire at all. Instead, it concentrates on the separation of the sexes, which it represents as murder, in the exaggerating manner of myth.[71] This selectivity makes it difficult for us to reconstruct the precise ritual background from the myth.

Still we are not totally without information about the Anaphiote ritual. Conon tells us that the festival took place once a year:

> Medea along with the women in her train, who were a present from her marriage with Jason, jesting after getting drunk, mocked the heroes in the nocturnal festival. And they jeered at the women in turn. From this time therefore, the people of Anaphe (for the island was colonised) hold every year a festival in honour of Apollo Aiglêtês, taunting each other in imitation of those people (tr. Brown, slightly adapted).

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[68] A. Henrichs, "The 'Sobriety' of Oedipus: Sophocles *OC* 100 Misunderstood," *HSCP* 87 (1983) 87–100 and "The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus," *Atti del XVII Congresso Intern. di Papirologia* II (Naples, 1984) 255–68.

[69] See the path breaking study of F. Graf, "Milch, Honig und Wein," in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980) 209–21 and *Nordionische Kulte*, 26–29.

[70] Pythagoras: Clem. Alex. *Paed*. 2.1.11; Diog. Laert. 8.13; Iamb. *VP* 107; Palladius, *Hist. Laus*. p. 12, 98. Pythagoreans: Aristophon fr. 10, 12; Alexis fr. 202, 223; Philostr. *VA*. 1.8.21 (Apollonius of Tyana); Strabo 7.3.4, 11 (Getans). Cynics: Diog. *Ep*. 37.4; Diog. Laert. 6.104.

[71] See Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship," in R. von Haehling (ed.), *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt, 2005) 21–43.

Conon also provides valuable information regarding the time of the festival. Whereas Callimachus (fr. 21.3–4) and Apollonius let the mocking contest take place during the day, Conon informs us that it took place during a *pannychis*, and the participation of women in nocturnal festivals is well attested by Menander.[72] As the night is in contrast with the day,[73] the normal time of feasting and sacrificing, the nocturnal character of the festival is another indication of its otherness.

The strangest feature of the festival, though, was the mutual mocking and insulting between the men and the women, which must have shaded into obscenities.[74] Our sources are not very informative about the exact nature of the Anaphiote behaviour, but the word *chleuê*, which is related to English 'glee' and characterises the mocking (AR 4.172; Call. fr. 21.9), is associated with both σκώπτω and αἰσχρολογία.[75] Such bawdy mocking occurred mainly in the festivals of Demeter and Dionysos. This was not because these were agricultural gods,[76] but because they were 'eccentric' in the Greek pantheon and did not support the social order.[77]

We can divide ritual mocking into three groups: men mocking men, women mocking women, and men and women mocking each other. Men mocking men took place during the Dionysiac festivals Lenaea and Anthesteria, when men on carts pursued the people met with lewd jests.[78] This custom must have made such a striking impression that

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[72] Men. *Dysc*. 857–8 with Sandbach, *Epitr*. 452, 474, *Sam*. 46, *Phasm*. 95; R. Antaya, *The All-Night Festivals of the Greeks* (Diss. Baltimore, 1983); B. Bravo, *Pannychis e simposio: feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto* (Pisa, 1997), although he has overlooked the names Pannychis and Pannych(i)os as indications for the popularity of nocturnal festivals.

[73] For the contrast in ritual see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 194.

[74] H. Fluck, *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulten* (Diss. Freiburg, 1931); N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1973) 213–7; W. Rösler, "Über Aischrologie im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland," in S. Döpp (ed.), *Karnevaleske Phanomene in antiken und nachantiken Kulturen und Literaturen* (Trier, 1993) 75–97; A. Brumfield, "Aporreta: Verbal and Ritual Obscenity in the Cults of Ancient Women," in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis* (Stockholm, 1996) 67–74; M. Ressel, "Il tema dell'aischrologia in Conone," *Lexis* 16 (1998) 239–52; D. Collins, *Master of the Game: Competition and Performance in Greek Poetry* (Cambridge Mass. 2004) 225–30.

[75] Σκώπτω: *Hymn. Hom. Cereris* 202–3; Ar. *Ra.* 375–6; Plut. *Arat*. 31, *Cato Minor* 21; Pollux 9.148; *Et. Magnum* 593. Αἰσχρολογία: Hsch. λ 337; Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, *PG* 58.591. For the term see also K. Siems, *Aischrologia* (Diss. Göttingen, 1974).

[76] *Contra* Livrea on AR 4.1726–7 and G.B. D'Alessio, *Callimaco*, 2 vols (Milano, 1996) II.399.

[77] See the discussion of the Greek pantheon in Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 15–23.

[78] Fluck, *Skurrile Riten*, 34–51; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983) 229 note 18.

'from a wagon' became proverbial for forceful or lewd mockery.[79] It is less clear what exactly happened on the road to Eleusis during the festive procession preceding the celebration of the Mysteries. According to some sources, men mocked passers-by from the bridge over the Kephisos, but we also hear of women mocking one another from their carriages and of a prostitute sitting on the bridge over the Kephisos. As none of our evidence predates Roman times, confusion in our sources or changes in the ritual in the course of time cannot be excluded.[80]

Women mocking women was a well known part of the festivals of Demeter. It is attested for the Eleusinian Haloa, a festival of Demeter and Dionysos that was celebrated in the middle of the winter on Posideon 26,[81] for the Aeginetan festival of Damia and Auxesia, who were close to Demeter and Kore,[82] and for the Athenian Stenia, a nocturnal women's festival celebrated on Pyanopsion 9,[83] just before the greatest women's festival, the Thesmophoria. In the latter case, it seems to have marked the transition to normality of a festival where women ruled supreme,[84] just as obscenity could mark the transition to normality. This is the case in the Orphic version of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, where Baubo's lifting of her skirt is followed by Demeter's laughter and the restoration of natural order.

Finally we have a few parallels to the Anaphiote ritual of males and females mocking one another. The custom is attested for the nocturnal

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[79] Ar. *Eq*. 464; Dem. 18.11 with Wankel; Pl. *Leg*. 637b; Men *Per*. fr. 8 Sandbach; Philemon fr. 44; Burkert, *Homo necans*, 229 note 18.

[80] Fluck, *Skurrile Riten*, 52–59; J.S. Rusten, "Wasps 1360–1369. Philokleon's τωθασμός," *HSCP* 81 (1977) 157–61; Burkert, *Homo necans*, 278 note 19; S. Cole, "Achieving Political Maturity: *Stephanosis*, *Philotimia* and *Phallephoria*," in D. Papenfuss and V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das Griechische Wunder?* (Mainz, 2001) 203–14.

[81] Schol. Lucian 279, 24; J. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975) 94–5; R. Parker, "Dionysos at the Haloa," *Hermes* 107 (1979) 256–7; innovative, N.J. Lowe, "Thesmophoria and Haloa: myth, physics and mysteries," in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds.), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1998) 149–73.

[82] Hdt. 5.83; schol. Ar. *Plut*. 1014 with Tzetzes; C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* (Lanham and London, 1997) 139.

[83] Ar. *Thesm*. 834 with schol.; Eubulus fr. 146; Hsch. σ 1825, 1827; *IG* II^2 674; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 480.

[84] For the festival see most recently Parker, *Miasma*, 81–3; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 242–6; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London, 1990), 188–209; U. Kron, "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi," *Arch. Anz*. 1992, 611–50; H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek & Roman Religion* 2 (Leiden, 1993) 228–88; K. Clinton, "The Thesmophorion in central Athens and the celebration of the Thesmophoria in Attica," in Hägg, *Role of Religion*, 111–25; Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 76–8; Parker, *Polytheism*, 270–83.

women's festival of Demeter Mysia in Pellene (Paus. 7.27.9), and such mockery probably also took place on Lemnos, although this island has not been included in discussions of ritual obscenity until now. In his pioneering discussion of the Lemnian New Year festival, Burkert has drawn attention to a curious detail in Pindar's account of the contest that must have ended the festival: "the victor was not Jason, but a certain Erginos, who was conspicuous by his untimely gray hair; the others had laughed at him".[85] However, the text is more precise than Burkert suggests. It is not simply that "the others", but that the women mock him.[86] As the myth ends with a sexual orgy between the Lemnian women and Argonauts,[87] it seems not unreasonable to assume sexual banter also for Lemnos.

These examples conclude our discussion of Apollonius' Anaphiote episode with its aetiology of the annual festival of Apollo Aiglêtês. This festival is characterised as 'abnormal' because it takes place during the night, contains the sacrifice of water and includes sexual banter between the sexes; at one time, it may have even ended in a sexual orgy, as once was probably the case on Lemnos. The comparison with Lemnos also suggests that the festival contained characteristics of a New Year festival, which would well fit Apollo, the god of the new moon and the new beginning.[88] At the same time, it is striking that on Anaphe the mockery and banter took place during a festival of Apollo, whereas virtually everywhere else in Greece it occurred in festivals of Demeter and Dionysos. Now, small places could not afford the same number of sanctuaries as larger communities.[89] It may well be that this is the reason why the Anaphiotes had dedicated this festival to Apollo, their main god, just as the Lemnians seem to have made Hephaestus, their most prominent god, into the god of their New Year festival.[90] After all, as we have seen, Apollo was the main god of the Anaphiotes.[91]

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[85] W. Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos," in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000; 1970[1]) 227–49 at 238.

[86] Pind. *O.* 4.20–21 and schol. on 32c; Call. fr. 668.

[87] Aesch., *Hyps.* Radt; Pind. *P.* 4.254; Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 6 = F 6 Fowler.

[88] For Apollo and new beginnings see Versnel, *Inconsistencies*, 297.

[89] Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 4.

[90] Burkert, "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos," 238f.

[91] I am most grateful to Rob Beekes, Richard Buxton, Bob Fowler, Annette Harder, Lina van 't Wout and, in particular, Tijn Cuypers, for helpful comments.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ATTIS: A GREEK GOD IN ANATOLIAN PESSINOUS AND CATULLAN ROME

One of the earliest detailed descriptions of the youth of Attis can be found in Catullus, but to what extent does he give us an idiosyncratic picture of the myth and ritual of Attis? Fordyce gave a firm answer to this question: "Catullus' Attis bears no resemblance to the Attis of myth and ritual".[1] But is this true? And who was the Attis of myth and ritual? Attis has been the subject of lively contemporary debate, and we may note at least four recent studies that all go in somewhat different directions. After the long popularity of Frazer's interpretation of Attis as a 'rising and dying god',[2] Walter Burkert was the first to note that the steady increase in new material from the Ancient Near East has refuted this traditional interpretation.[3] He also distinguished various elements of Anatolian provenance in the myth and ritual of Attis, and his is undoubtedly the most innovative modern contribution. Philippe Borgeaud also pays attention to Attis in the course of his study of the Great Mother. He accepts the traditional distinction between a Lydian version as exemplified in Herodotus (§ 1) and the Phrygian version with Attis' castration. He also argues that Attis took on divine traits only after his transplantation to Greek soil, whereas his ritual eventually derives from Mesopotamian traditions about emasculated priests who

[1] C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A commentary* (Oxford, 1961) 261.

[2] J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough IV: Adonis Attis Osiris*, 2 vols. (London, 1914[3]) I.261–317. Frazer had been influenced by W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1876) II.291–301.

[3] W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979) 99–111, neglected in her historical survey by M.G. Lancellotti, *Attis between Myth and History: King, Priest and God* (Leiden, 2002) 9–15. Note that one of the most prominent American historians of religion still finds it hard to accept such progress in scholarship, see J.Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine* (Chicago, 1982) 36–46, discussed by Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 52–5. For an interesting, but eventually unpersuasive, attempt at rehabilitating the notion see G. Casadio, "The Failing Male God: Emasculation, Death and Other Accidents in the Ancient Mediterranean World," *Numen* 50 (2003) 231–68 at 235–48.

are the functional model of Kybele's eunuch priests.[4] Gerhard Baudy also distinguishes an older Lydian version, influenced by the Phoenician Adonis myth, and, like Borgeaud, sees in Attis' castration a reflection of the castration of his priests, which he, rather improbably, interprets as a radicalization of a symbolic rite of male initiation.[5] The latest monograph on Attis, by Maria Grazia Lancellotti, connects the Lydian version to 'royal ideologies' of the Ancient Near East, associates the Phrygian version with the local monarchy, and stresses the funerary connotations of the cult.[6]

In this contribution I will try to reconstruct the myth and ritual of Attis in the period up to Catullus. Religion is a living part of society, and the cult of Attis kept developing until the end of Late Antiquity, but that period would require a further study altogether: even with the stated restriction, it is not easy to get a grip on the early stages of Attis' cult. Our testimonies are few and sometimes difficult to interpret. Moreover, established opinions have too long been accepted—often without being properly scrutinized. In our discussion, we will try to move as much as possible along chronological lines in order to see the myth and ritual of Attis in its historical development. Burkert's results mean that we need not go further back than him, although the older monographs of Hepding and Vermaseren retain their value as collections of material.[7] Subsequently, then, we will look at the 'Lydian' complex (§ 1), Attis' arrival in Greece (§ 2), Attis in Phrygia (§ 3), Attis' arrival in Rome and the poem of Catullus (§ 4) and end with some concluding observations (§ 5).

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[4] Ph. Borgeaud, "L'écriture d'Attis: le récit dans l'histoire," in C. Calame (ed.), *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce ancienne* (Geneva, 1988) 87–103 and *La Mère des dieux* (Paris, 1996) 56–88.

[5] G. Baudy, "Attis," in *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 247f.

[6] Lancellotti, *Attis*.

[7] H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen, 1903); M.J. Vermaseren: *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (Leiden, 1966); *Cybele and Attis, the Myth and the Cult* (London, 1977); *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, 7 vols. (Leiden, 1977–89) and (with M.B. de Boer), "Attis," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 22–44; J. Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford, 2003) 357–63; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas, the nymphs, Dionysos and others: myth, ritual, ethnicity* (Stockholm, 2005) 135–41; S. Berndt-Ersöz, "The Anatolian Origin of Attis," in M. Hutter und S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds.), *Pluralismus und Wandel in den Religionen im vorhellenistischen Anatolien* (Münster, 2006) 9–39.

1. *The 'Lydian' complex*

In the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Herodotean episode of Atys (1.34–45), the son of Croesus, with Attis.[8] Although obscured in more recent studies, the identification between the two was made within the then dominant nature paradigm: "Atys, the sun-god, slain by the boar's tusk of winter".[9] The Herodotean passage is well known. It relates that Croesus had two sons, although Bacchylides (3.34–5) also mentions daughters, and Hellenistic poetry knew of a daughter Nanis, who had betrayed Sardis to Cyrus.[10] The eldest, by far the foremost of his contemporaries, was called Atys, although, interestingly, the valuable codex D calls him Attys, and the same variation in the manuscripts can be noticed in Stephanus of Byzantium (α 529). Here the founder of Attalyda is called Attys or Atys (the important codex R).[11] Names like Attas and Attes are epigraphically also much more frequently attested than names with a single *t*.[12] As Croesus had dreamt that a boar would kill Atys, he kept the youth away from all weapons. However, when an enormous boar appeared in Mysia and destroyed the fields, the Mysians sent a delegation to Croesus and ordered him to send his son 'with elite youths and dogs' in order to help them. In the end Croesus gave in and sent his son with the Phrygian royal exile Adrastus as his supervisor. Unfortunately, Adrastus killed Atys accidently during the hunt.

It has often been seen that Herodotus has invented this episode in order to demonstrate the precariousness of Croesus' happiness and wealth. In his episode he drew on the myth of Meleager, if most likely

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[8] H. Stein, *Herodotos erklärt* (Berlin, 1856 and many successive editions) on 1.43; E. Meyer, "Atys," in *RE* II.2 (1896) 2262, soon followed by Frazer, *The Golden Bough IV*, I.286f. Note that the link was not made by F. Cumont, "Attis," in *RE* II.2 (1896) 2247–52.

[9] A.H. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East: Herodotos I–III* (London, 1883) 21f.

[10] Licymnius *PMG* 772; Hermesian. fr. 6; Parthenius fr. 22; *FGrH* 252 B (6) = *IG* XIV.1297, cf. M. Haslam, "The Fall of Sardis in the Roman Chronicle," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 198. Lightfoot (*ad loc*.) calls Nanis a 'romantic creation' but overlooks that it is an epichoric name, which suggests a relatively old date for her origin, cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague, 1964) 347–8; *I. Pessinous* 49 with Strubbe.

[11] M. Billerbeck, *Stephani Byzantii ethnica* I (Berlin and New York, 2006) 28* (R), 300 (text). Lancellotti, *Attis*, 30 note 83 also adduces the Lydian names Adyattes (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 47) and Sadyattes (Hdt. 1.16.1; *SEG* 45.1584), but their names probably have the same suffix *-ttV-* as that of the Hittite king Maduwatta and should be kept out of the dossier, cf. T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1998) 140 note 35.

[12] Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, 105–11.

through the prism of Attic tragedy.[13] Here he found the motif of a hunt on a destructive boar by a prince and a group of young followers, since such a group is lacking in the Adonis myth, which had been introduced into the Attis complex by Hepding and Gruppe.[14] And indeed, Adonis was not connected with Attis before Late Antiquity.[15] However, in Herodotus there is nowhere any mention of Attis, just as there is nothing in the story that even hints at a connection with the Phrygian cult.[16] In fact, the name Atys is not even found in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions, but it is a name with good authority in the earliest Lydian royal genealogies.[17] In his *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.27.1) records various Lydian royal genealogies in order to explain the name of the Etruscans. In the first genealogy mentioned by him, the first king of Lydia is called Masnes, one of whose two grandsons was called Atys. As we know that the name Masnes, probably deriving from Masdnes,[18] is well attested for Lydia,[19] whereas in Phrygia we find only Manes,[20] this genealogy must go back to authentic Lydian traditions. It is thus also a guarantee of the name Atys without any connection with

[13] Herodotus probably drew on Sophocles, perhaps his *Meleager*; see the detailed discussion by C. Chiasson, "Herodotus' Use of Attic Tragedy in the Lydian *Logos*," *Class. Ant.* 22 (2003) 5–35. For a narratological analysis of the episode see I. de Jong, "Narratologia e storiografia: il racconto di Atys e Adrasto in Erodoto," *QUCC* 80 (2005) 87–96.

[14] Meleager: see my "La plasticité du mythe: Méléagre dans Homère," in Calame, *Métamorphoses*, 37–55; P. Grossardt, *Die Erzählung von Meleagros* (Leiden, 2000). Adonis: Hepding, *Attis*, 101, followed by O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1906) II.950.

[15] Contra M. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2006) 141–5, cf. Porph. fr. 358; Macr. *Sat.* 1.21, but note that Varro, *Test.* 540 both mentions Adon(is) and is written in galliambics, the metre of poetry for Kybele, cf. L. Morisi, *Gaio Valerio Catullo Attis* (carmen *LXIII*) (Bologna, 1999) 49–56; R. Nauta, "Hephaestion and Catullus 63 again," in R. Nauta and A. Harder (eds.), *Catullus' Poem on Attis* (Leiden, 2005) 143–48 at 146.

[16] *Contra* Lancellotti, *Attis*, 31, who states: "If, as is apparent from Herodotus (however, Herodotus nowhere makes any mention of Attis!), the royal prerogatives ascribed to Attis were already characteristic of him in one of his earlier attestations…"; Morisi, *Catullo*, 19–20.

[17] Note that, without any authority, Lancellotti, *Attis*, 25 calls him "Attis/Atys".

[18] L. Robert, *Les noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1963) 101f.

[19] Given that Gallus is the name of the king of Pessinous but also of the adjacent river (§ 3), it is perhaps noteworthy that Masnes is also the name of a Lydian river, cf. Xanth. *FGrH* 765 F 24 (where the name is a conjecture by Jacoby); Hdn., *De prosodia catholica*, 3,1.64; Heph. 5.22 and Choerob. *ad loc.*; *Et. Magnum* 249.

[20] O. Masson, "Le sceau paléo-phrygien de *Mane*," *Kadmos* 26 (1987) 109–12; R. Gusmani and G. Polat, "Manes in Daskyleion," *Kadmos* 38 (1999) 137–62. Interestingly, Herodotus (1.94.3) calls him Manes, but Masnes is clearly the older form.

Attis. Moreover, Dionysius mentions that Xanthos of Lydia, an elder contemporary of Herodotus, had also already mentioned Atys (1.28.2 = Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 16). As Herodotus likewise mentions Atys as the ancestor of the Lydians (1.7.3) and as a son of Pythios (7.27), he will have drawn on Xanthos for the name, perhaps attracted by the resemblance with the Greek word *atê*, 'disgrace' (thus Asheri *ad loc.*).[21]

In fact, the only reason that Atys is associated with Attis is a notice from the Koan poet Hermesianax, who lived around 300 BC. In one of his poems he tells that Attis honoured the Mother to such an extent that Zeus became angry with her[22] and sent a boar against the Lydians that killed not only several Lydians but also Attis himself.[23] In her recent monograph, Lancellotti writes that "in the tradition recorded by Pausanias (Hermesianax)…Attis joined a hunting party with tragic consequences. In that tradition the motifs of hunting and the priesthood are connected".[24] Yet Pausanias mentions neither a hunting party nor a priesthood explicitly, even though the text could perhaps be construed in that direction. On the other hand, he does mention something Lancellotti pays no attention to. Pausanias continues his summary of Hermesianax by writing that "in consequence of these events the Galatians that inhabit Pessinous do not touch pork" and he stresses that this is not the local myth, which he mentions subsequently and which we will discuss shortly (§ 3). In other words, Hermesianax gave in his poem an aetiological explanation of the local abstinence from pork, which will have preceded the arrival of the Galatians, and as a taboo for Attis' worshippers is confirmed by Julian (*Or.* 5.17). Apparently, we have here an influence from Syria and Phoenicia, as swine were prohibited from Comana in Pontus (Strabo 12.8.9), from the cult of Men, from that of the Dea Syria (Lucian, *De dea Syria* 54 with Lightfoot), and among the Phoenicians (Porph. *Abst.* 1.14)—not to mention of course the Jews and Egyptians.[25] There is no reason, then, to suppose that in his explanation Hermesianax drew on old Lydian traditions.

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[21] Note that Atys is a conjecture by Jacoby in Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 15.

[22] Unlike Hepding, *Attis*, 30, all modern editions emend the manuscript reading of αὐτῇ into Ἄττῃ, but the recent Lorenzo Valla edition of Moggi (2000) rightly sticks to the manuscript reading, since the scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e also stresses that Zeus send the boar because the Meter "deemed him (Attis) worthy of honour".

[23] Hermesian. fr. 8 = Paus. 7.17.9.

[24] Lancellotti, *Attis*, 58.

[25] Men: E.N. Lane, *Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis* I (Leiden, 1971) 12. For the taboo on pigs see Bremmer, "Modi di comunicazione con il divino: la preghiera,

What have we learned so far? In the last decades of the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Atys episode in Herodotus with the cult of Attis on the basis of the poem by Hermesianax. However, this poem clearly intended to provide an aetiological explanation for a food taboo in Pessinous but not an insight into epichoric Phrygian or Lydian cult traditions. We therefore conclude that our Greek sources do not connect Attis with Lydia in the archaic and classical periods. Consequently, there is no 'Lydian' version, as all recent discussions, with the exception of Burkert, have led us believe.

There is even another argument against the 'Lydian' connection. We actually happen to know that Lydia had its own cult of a Meter, but her Lydian name is Kuvav- or Kufav-; Herodotus attests her importance by calling her "Kybebe the native goddess" (5.102.1). Her name continues that of Kubaba, the great goddess of Carchemish on the Euphrates,[26] but the Ionians transcribed the name of this goddess as Kybêbê not Kybele. From Lydia she must already have been early accepted among the Greeks, as the seventh-century Semonides calls a follower of Kybele a *kybêbos* (fr. 36), just like Cratinus in his *Thraittai* (fr. 87) of about 430 BC, and in the sixth century Hipponax calls her 'Kybêbê daughter of Zeus' (fr. 125 D^2 = 127 W^2); in fact, a sixth-century Locrian inscription still has the form K(y)baba (*SEG* 49.1357). Given that Lydia had its own Meter, it seems odd that the Lydians should have imported into Sardis a figure from Pessinous, whose cultic existence anyway is not even established for that time. And indeed, Attis' cult is not attested in Lydia before the third century AD.[27]

As we have neither Lydian nor indigenous Phrygian epigraphical, literary or iconographical sources about Attis as a cultic figure before Roman times, we will first look at the god's arrival in Greece, as in the older testimonies we see him only through Greek eyes.

2. *The arrival of Attis in Greece*

Hermesianax's poem shows that Attis had already become known in Greece at the beginning of the third century, but when exactly did

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la divinizzazione e il sacrificio nella civiltá greca," in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci I* (Turin, 1996) 239–83 at 251f.

[26] F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 111.

[27] M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften* (Bonn, 1999) no's 12.1, 12.2.

he become accepted into the Greek world? For our purpose, we can draw on archaeological, literary and epigraphical sources, which all seem remarkably to converge on more or less the same date.[28] The oldest testimony for Attis is usually seen in the Old Comedy dramatist Theopompus, but the surviving fragment "I will punish you and that Attis of yours" rather indicates a human lover;[29] in fact, we find at least three Attides, two Attas and one Attos in fourth-century Athens.[30] The earliest securely identified image of Attis is a votive stele of the Piraeus from the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century BC with the inscription "Timothea to Angdistis and Attis on behalf of her children according to command" (*IG* II^2 4671). The stele probably is our earliest testimony for the cult of Attis in Athens *tout court*.[31]

In any case, the late date well fits with the earliest literary notices. In his *On the Crown* Demosthenes mentions that Aeschines called out in the private mysteries of his mother "*Hyês, Attês*" (18.260). Wilamowitz magisterially rejected the passage as a testimony for the cult of Attis and noted: "so weiss man in demosthenischer Zeit noch nichts von Attis" and he has been followed in modern times.[32] Yet the already quoted stele from the Piraeus demonstrates that Wilamowitz was wrong. The chronological value of the testimony is a different question, though. It is hardly credible that Demosthenes would have known exactly what Aeschines' mother did in his youth. However, it is in his interest to impress his audience with contemporary rituals. That is why he presents this *bricolage* of several ecstatic cults. In other words, the cry should be taken as an indication of the existence of Attis' cult in 330 BC rather than at the time of Aeschines' youth.

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[28] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 104 and Morisi, *Catullo*, 19–22 provide the most recent surveys, but some progress can be made, as I hope to show in this section.

[29] Theopomp. fr. 28 with Kassel and Austin. *Contra* Hepding, *Attis*, 99; Burkert, *Structure and History*, 104.

[30] P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II (Oxford, 1994) 78f.

[31] Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* II, no. 308 = F. Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen, 1983) pl. 40.1 = L. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments," *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 245–62 at pl. 55.1 = E. Vikela, "Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Bildtypologie der Meter Kybele Reliefs," *Athen. Mitt.* 116 (2001) 67–123 at 116–17 with pl. 23.2.

[32] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* II (Berlin, 1941) 2, followed by P. Lambrechts, *Attis. Van herdersknaap tot god* (Brussels, 1962) 22 note 1; Wankel on Dem. 18.260, although he does not provide an alternative explanation of the word.

Demosthenes also furnishes another detail of interest. He suggests that Aeschines performed in front of old women. The audience conforms to our impression of the general following of new cults in Athens, which attracted women in particular.[33] In this connection, it is noteworthy that the first dedication to Attis (above) was by a woman, perhaps a slave or a foreigner in Athens, just as a maiden worships Agdistis in, probably, Menander's *Theophoroumenê*.[34]

The last early testimony derives from Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* 84 F 37), who apparently discussed Attes as a servant of the Mother of the Gods among the Phrygians. The recent re-edition of Philodemus' 'Academicorum Index' has shown that Neanthes has to be put into the fourth century.[35] An interest in Attis in Cyzicus is hardly surprising. Herodotus had already reported about the impressive *pannychis* of the Meter,[36] and Nicander of Kolophon (*Al.* 7–8) situated "the place of the secret rites of Attes" in the "caverns of Lobrinian Rhea", Lobrinon being a mountain in Cyzicus (schol. *ad loc*.). It is therefore perhaps hardly chance that we find the name Attes already in Cyzicus around 300 BC (*I. Kyzikos* 101).[37] As the Mother herself,[38] Attis too may well have reached mainland Greece via the Hellespont and the Propontis.

Our analysis so far has shown that Attis started to become known in the Greek world in the last decades of the fourth centuries, where he seems to have been particularly worshipped by women. Yet the conquest of Asia Minor would be required before the Greeks could read more detailed reports on the Phrygian myth and ritual of Attis. From about 300 BC onwards, different reports started to appear that

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[33] Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999[2]) 72.

[34] Men. *Theoph.* fr. dub. on p. 146, ed. Sandbach, cf. E. Handley, *BICS* 16 (1969) 96.

[35] T. Dorandi, *Storia dei Filosofi* (Naples, 1991) col. II.38–9, III.35 and a scholion in margin of col. V (*FGrH* 84 F 23), cf. W. Burkert, "Philodems Arbeitstext zur Geschichte der Akademie," *ZPE* 97 (1993) 87–94 at 92: "Die Lebenszeit dieses Neanthes rückt damit etwas weiter zurück ins 4.Jh." Following Jacoby, Borgeaud, *La Mère des dieux*, 66 still puts Neanthes at 180 BC.

[36] Hdt. 4.76.3–4, cf. B. Bravo, *Pannychis e simposio* (Pisa and Rome, 1997) 119, who observes that these nightly festivals were typical of the cults of Kybele and Dionysos; this volume, Chapter XIII, note 72.

[37] Cf. her temple in Cyzicus (Amm. Marc. 22.8.5), which has been excavated, cf. Vermaseren *Corpus Cultus Cybelae*, I.91–97; the poem on a Gallus by Erucius of Cyzicus (*AP* 6.234 = 2256–61 GP) and the connection between the Argonauts, Cyzicus and Dindymon/a in Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 39 (Strabo 12.8.11, cf. 12.8.11), AR 1.1092–1152 and Val. Flacc. 3.20–2.

[38] Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 113f.

would reveal (or not!) startling details of a strange myth and ritual. It is time to look at Phrygia itself.

3. *Attis in Phrygia*

The continuing publication of ancient Phrygian texts has also enriched the dossier of Attis. In 1982 an inscription dating to the seventh or sixth century BC was published with a dedication to Atas/Ata.[39] As *atas* means 'father' in the meaning of 'father as fosterer',[40] the editors suggest that we perhaps may find here a male, if somewhat inferior, companion for the main Phrygian goddess *Matar*, 'Mother'. However, it seems hard to see in this Atas the same supra-human being as Attis, since the latter is in no way connected with fatherhood. Moreover, it is important to note that the name Attis is not attested in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions,[41] where we find only Ates and Ata:[42] In other words, our modest knowledge of Phrygian religion does not allow us any trace of Attis before the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor opened up the hinterland to the curiosity of the Greeks. However, already within a few decades they could learn about this strange cult from at least three, possibly four, sources with only a difference of half a century at the most between them, viz. from Timotheus, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) and the author I call Anonymus Ovidianus. Let us start with the oldest version.

Around 300 BC, under the rule of Ptolemy I, the Athenian Eumolpid Timotheus published an account of Kybele and her rites, which Burkert calls the *hieros logos* of Pessinous.[43] However, this is only partially correct as we will see below. Our source for Timotheus is Arnobius

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[39] C. Brixhe and M. Lejeune, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984) I.W-10.

[40] E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969) II.87f.

[41] *Contra* Lancellotti, *Attis*, 34: "The name Attis is quite widespread in Phrygia". It is therefore misleading when Lancellotti, *Attis*, 34–5 speaks about "the name of Attis (in the Old Phrygian variant form 'Ates')".

[42] Zgusta, *Personennamen*, 119–21; C. Brixhe and Th. Drew-Bear, "Trois nouvelles inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes de Çepni," *Kadmos* 21 (1982) 64–87 at 70, 83; Brixhe and Lejeune, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*, I.G-107, 118–19, 128, 221, 224, 234, W-10, Dd-101; E. Varinlioglu, "The Phrygian Inscriptions from Bayindir," *Kadmos* 31 (1992) 10–20; A.M. Darga, "Quelques remarques sur les fouilles de Sarhöyük-Dorylaion," *Mitt. Deutsch.Arch. Inst. (Istanbul)* 43 (1993) 313–17 at 316f.

[43] W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge MA and London, 1987) 73.

(5.5–8), who devoted a large passage to the Mother and Attis around AD 300.[44] Timotheus had made Serapis palatable to the Alexandrian Greeks (Tac. *Hist.* 4.83), and we may assume that his purpose was to make Kybele and her cult equally palatable to them, perhaps as part of plans of Ptolemy to conquer Western Asia Minor. In this respect it seems significant that Varro combined the cults of both Kybele and Serapis in his *Eumenides*. As we do not find this combination anywhere else, Varro may well have found it in Timotheus' book, which was still available in Rome in his time—witness its use by Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74), who worked in Rome at the same time as Varro.

According to Arnobius (5.5), Timotheus pretended that he had his knowledge *ex reconditis antiquitatum libris* and *ex intimis mysteriis*, but these protestations only demonstrate the strong necessity he felt to authenticate his strange story. An appeal to antiquity while relating a myth was a well-known device from Hellenistic times onwards, and Timotheus must have been one of the first to use it.[45] We do not know Arnobius' source(s?) for Timotheus, whom he calls "no mean mythologist" (5.5),[46] but Arnobius often uses Varro,[47] although the latter explicitly declined to talk about Attis and the Galli in his theology—an interesting testimony to the attitude of the Roman elite towards his cult.[48]

In any case, in addition to Timotheus, Arnobius had also consulted *alios aeque doctos*, whose influence, even though they remain anonymous, we sometimes can distinguish. We will discuss these cases below at their appropriate moments, but we may already mention them: the entrance by the Mother of the city "having raised the walls with her head, which in consequence began to be crowned with turrets", the presence of the pine under which Attis had castrated himself, and the end of Timotheus' account, where it is said that his body would

[44] See the analysis by F. Mora, *Arnobio e i culti di mistero* (Rome, 1994) 116–34.

[45] Cf. Call. fr. 612; Verg. *Aen.* 9.79; Ov. *Met.* 1.400, *F.* 4.203–4.

[46] More recently, E. Lane, "The Name of Cybele's Priests, the Galloi," in Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996) 117–33 at 128 note 21 has doubted the identification. He is followed by L. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1999) 244 note 20 and Lancellotti, *Attis*, 85 note 121, but this is hypercritical in the light of Alexander Polyhistor's mention of Timotheus. For some, possibly, additional references to Timotheus see R. Turcan, "Attis Platonicus," in Lane, *Cybele*, 387–403 at 388.

[47] For his great indebtness to Varro see H. le Bonniec, *Arnobe, Contre les Gentils, Livre 1* (Paris, 1982) 48f.

[48] Aug. *De civ. Dei* 7.25: *Et Attis ille* (Varro) *non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus absciditur.*

not decompose and, rather morbidly, that his little finger continued to move. Arnobius mentions only one source by name, and that only incompletely: *Valerius pontifex* (5.7), who had called Attis' bride Ia. Given the interest in Attis and Kybele in the first half of the first century BC (§ 4), this is most likely Valerius Messalla Niger, who was pontifex in 81 BC.[49] His invention must have been stimulated by the prominence of the violet in the Roman ritual of Attis and Roman funerary cult,[50] since we hear nothing of the kind for Asia Minor. Here the blood of Attis was believed to have caused the purple veins in the marble of Phrygian Synnada.[51]

So, what did Timotheus tell us?[52] From stones taken from the rock Agdus (below) in Phrygia, Deucalion and Pyrrha made the Great Mother. When Zeus unsuccessfully attempted to rape her, he poured out his semen on a rock. This produced the fierce, hermaphroditic Agdistis. In order to tame him, Dionysos lured him to a spring with wine, and tied his testicles to a noose. When Agdistis awoke from his hangover and tried to get up, he unwittingly castrated himself. As Burkert has seen, the beginning of this episode closely resembles the beginning of the Hittite myth of Ullikumi, where we also find the birth of a monstrous figure from a rock.[53] Getting Agdistis drunk, on the other hand, is of course a calque on the catching of Silenus by Midas. This myth was narrated in the very same area, as is illustrated by the mention of the well of Midas in Ankyra (below).[54]

When a pomegranate had sprung from the blood of Agdistis, Nana, the daughter of the local king or river Sangarius, placed it in her bosom and became pregnant. Her father then shut her up, but the Mother

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[49] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892–1916) no. 46; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1986) 227. R. Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1996) 34 and "Attis Platonicus," 389 suggests that Arnobius confused him with the *augur* M. Valerius Messalla, consul in 53 BC. This is not impossible but hardly necessary, given our dearth of sources.

[50] Bömer on Ov. *F.* 5.227.

[51] L. Robert, *A travers de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1980) 221–26 and *Opera minora selecta* VII (Amsterdam, 1990) 109–21.

[52] For several observations on his account see also Turcan, *Cults of the Roman Empire*, 31–35.

[53] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 197–8 convincingly illustrates the resemblances in two parallel columns; for a more detailed discussion, Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 87–95. For translations of the passage see H. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990) 52; J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) 185–7.

[54] For all testimonies see M.C. Miller, "Midas," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 846–51. Note that the archaeological testimonies well predate the earliest literary one (Hdt. 8.138).

of the Gods kept her alive. After the father had her child exposed, a certain Phorbas, 'Nourisher', found him, raised him on goat's milk and called the boy Attis, "as the Phrygians call their goats *attagi*". When the latter grew up, he roamed the woods with Agdistis, who loved him—if naturally somewhat inadequately. Under the influence of wine Attis confessed his love and that is why those drinking wine are forbidden to enter his sanctuary.

This episode is a mixture of the theme of 'the mother's tragedy' (exemplified by Greek heroines like Io and Danae), of the fostering of heroes (exemplified by the fostering of Zeus by a goat),[55] and of the aetiological explanation of the prohibition of wine. At the same time, Timotheus kept a certain *couleur local* in the story by his usage of the epichoric names Nana (§ 1) and Sangarius.[56] Apparently, he had made proper enquiries before adapting the local lore to his sophisticated Alexandrian public.

In the final part of the story the king intended to give his daughter in marriage to Attis, but the Mother of the Gods wanted to prevent the wedding and entered the city. At this point Agdistis filled the guests with frenzy and the daughter of a certain Gallus cut off her breasts, apparently an 'alternative' castration. This Gallus had not yet been introduced, and clearly something has gone wrong in the text, as Oehler already noted in his 1846 edition of Arnobius by comparing *c.* 5.13 where Gallus is spoken of as having already mutilated himself. However, Oehler did not notice that Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74) had also mentioned "that Gallus and Attis had cut off their sexual organs", a notice most likely derived once again from Timotheus. In his account of the Attis cult, Pausanias (7.17.12) mentions that Attis also cut off the private parts of his father-in-law. Gallus will therefore have been the name of the king, even though this does not fit well with the name Midas, which is also used by Arnobius for the king. Evidently, the myth had passed through various stages which all had left their traces in the text that was found by Arnobius.

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[55] For the themes of the mother's tragedy and the fostering of heroes see J.N. Bremmer and N.M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (Rome, 1987) 27–30, 54–6 (by Bremmer); Bremmer, "Amaltheia," in *Der Neue Pauly* I (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1996) 568–9.

[56] For a Sangarios at Pessinous and a discussion of the name see Robert, *Noms*, 536–7; add now the local Sagarios and Sagaria: *SEG* 41.1152; *I. Pessinous* 81, 120, 172, 175a, b; note also the Galatian Sagaris (*SEG* 30.1473).

In this frenzy Attis castrated himself under a pine tree, and the Mother of the Gods collected his parts and buried them; she also brought the pine tree to her cave. She was joined in her howling wailing by Agdistis who beat and wounded her breast. From Attis' blood sprung the violet, which even today decorates the pine tree—so clearly Arnobius himself. Zeus refused to revive Attis, but he allowed his body to remain undecayed, with even some movement left in his little finger. Agdistis buried the body in Pessinous and honoured Attis with yearly rituals and high priests.

This final episode starts with perhaps another survival from Near Eastern mythology. Burkert has persuasively compared the entry of the Mother with the advent of Inanna from the netherworld and her entering Dumuzi's palace to destroy him.[57] The raising of the walls (above) made the Mother into the Ovidian *dea turrigera* (*F.* 6.321),[58] but the detail must be a later addition, since Kybele's *Mauerkrone* is archeologically not attested before about 240 BC.[59] The presence of a pine tree is somewhat surprising, since this tree is not attested in Attis' Greek cult and neither are pine cones found in Attis' Greek iconography.[60] On the other hand, the pine was an important part of the later Roman ritual of Attis, and its prominence here clearly serves to explain its role in the famous ritual of the *Arbor intrat* in the West. A further reference to the actual cult of the Mother must be the mention of the cave, which was associated with the Mother in Asia Minor,[61] even though this feature did not survive the transfer to Rome. Apparently, Timotheus merely mentioned that the Mother of the Gods brought the (pine?) tree into her cave, but Arnobius (5.14) already wondered what had happened in that case to Attis' member. And indeed, we probably catch here Timotheus in the act of 'cleaning up' the story before presenting it to the Alexandrians, since in Cyzicus those that had castrated themselves did deposit their member in "holy subterranean places".[62] The howling wailing is a typical feature of the cult of Attis and is often mentioned

[57] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 110.

[58] For literary references see Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 688.

[59] E. Simon, "Kybele," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 744–66 at 751 no. 24.

[60] Roller, *In Search of the Mother*, 279; Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 500f.

[61] Eur. *Bacch.* 123; Nic. *Al.* 8; Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236–41 GP); Diosc. *AP* 6.220 (= 1539–54 GP); Sil. It. 17.21; Paus. 10.32, cf. L. and J. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1970, 590; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris, 1912) 394.

[62] Schol. Nic. *Al.* 8b. For the various destinations of the genitals of eunuchs, see Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 297; Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 508.

in Latin literature (§ 4). Last but certainly not least, the most interesting item in Timotheus' account is undoubtedly the description of Attis' body. But how old is this morbid passage?

It is not easy to gain a precise insight into the definitive fate of Attis. In our oldest testimonies, there seems to be no interest in his body (Hermesianax) or it is considered to have been buried first before completely disappearing (Dionysius Scythobrachion [?]: below). In his *Bithyniaka*, Arrian also mentions that Attis' worshippers went into the mountains and called out for him, if with the name Papas.[63] Pausanias' mention of Attis' grave (1.4.5) thus seems to reflect this early situation.[64] Apparently, things started to change in the second century AD when Pausanias (7.17.12) relates that his body would not see corruption, and Arnobius' mention of the moving little finger probably has to be assigned to the same period. Clearly, Attis was moving upwards in Pausanias' time, and that is why, presumably, Tertullian could already refer to him as *deum a Pessinunte* (*Ad nat.* 1.10.47). However, Attis' 'resurrection' is not mentioned before the third century and seems closely connected to the rise of Christianity, just like the 'resurrection' of Adonis is not mentioned before the third century.[65] These testimonies strongly suggest that Attis' body only gradually became of interest to his worshippers.

We now turn to our second early account, which was provided in the first decades of the third century BC by Hermesianax of Kolophon. In his version, Attes (he does not write 'Attis', which is not an epichoric spelling: below) was a son of the Phrygian Kalaos and unfit to procreate. When he had grown up, he moved to Lydia and introduced the rites of the Mother of the Gods to the Lydians. Subsequently, he met his sad fate through a boar that we have already discussed (§ 1). The father's name looks like a variant of Gallus (below), and the impotence a euphemism for his castration. Apparently, Hermesianax did not think his audience fit for the more awkward details of the cult; that is probably why we also do not hear anything about Agdistis. Moreover, he limits himself to portraying Attis as a missionary of the Mother to the Lydians. This is perhaps not surprising. Kolophon was adjacent to Lydia

[63] Arr. *FGrH* 156 F 22, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas*, 139–41.

[64] Thus, persuasively, G. Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," *ANRW* II.17.3 (1984) 1500–35 at 1520. Note also the mention of Attis' burial in Servius Auctus on Verg. *Aen.* 9.116.

[65] Attis: Hippol. *Ref.* 5.8.22–24; Firm. Matern. *Err.* 3.1; Damasc. fr. 87A. Adonis: Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 309–11.

and knew a flourishing cult of the Mother, whose temple was already an important local institution since the seventh century.[66]

Our third early account has been handed down by Diodorus Siculus (3.58–9), but the place within his oeuvre and its euhemerising tone almost certainly guarantee that he derived the story from Dionysius Scythobrachion, the euhemerising mythographer of the middle of the third century.[67] It relates that king Meion of Lydia and Phrygia had married Dindyme, by whom he begot a daughter. After he had exposed her on Mt Kybel(l)on, [68] she was fed by animals, and female (!) shepherds called her therefore Kybele. Growing up she invented the syrinx,[69] cymbals and tambourines; not surprisingly, her best companion was Marsyas. She even cared so much for the young animals that they gave her the name 'Mother of the Mountain'. Having arrived at a suitable age, she fell in love with Attis, who eventually was called Papas, became pregnant and was recognized by her parents. When her father had killed her nurses and Attis,[70] Kybele became mad and started to roam in the country accompanied by Marsyas. In the end Marsyas challenged Apollo to a duel on the double flute, lost and was flayed alive. When an illness had struck Phrygia, Apollo gave orders to bury Attis and to honour Kybele. As his body had already decomposed, the Phrygians made an image of Attis and chanted songs of lamentation until the present day. For Kybele they built a splendid temple in Pessinous with sumptuous sacrifices. Next to her statue they placed panthers and lions, as they had fed her when a child.

It is obvious that this account is not part of "the dossier concerning the attempt by the (Lydian) Mermnad dynasty to reconstruct a Phrygian 'prehistory' in order to guarantee its own legitimacy to the throne".[71] Far from it. It combines a euhemerising version of the myth of Kybele and Attis with that of Marsyas, another Phrygian myth. It makes Attis the beloved of Kybele and mentions her ecstatic side, but, as was the

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[66] Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 113.

[67] So, persuasively, B. Bommelaer, *Diodore Sicule, Bibliothèque historique, livre III* (Paris, 1989) xxxiii–v.

[68] Bommelaer, *Diodore III*, and Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 67 wrongly translate with "Cybélos" and "*Kubelos*," respectively.

[69] For the syrinx see Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 487.

[70] The mention of nurses is rather surprising. Can it be that they are the mythical reflection of priestesses, since Diod. Sic. 34.33 mentions a priestess in Pessinous in 204 BC? Or are they the women that are regularly associated with the Galli, cf. Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236–41 GP) and Thyill. *AP* 7.223?

[71] *Contra* Lancellotti, *Attis*, 44.

case with Hermesianax, it makes no mention of the hermaphroditic Agdistis nor does it mention Attis' castration. Clearly, several authors thought that Greece was not yet ready for the cult of Attis in all its strange aspects.

The date of the fourth account has to remain obscure, but seems to find its origin in an Alexandrian context.[72] In his *Fasti* (4.223–46), Ovid relates that Attis had fallen in love with Kybele, who pressed him in promising that he would remain a boy forever. However, he broke his promise and fell in love with the nymph Sagaritis. Kybele took revenge by killing the nymph, at which Attis lost his mind. Imagining that the Furies pursued him, he ran to the top of Mt Dindymon where he castrated himself. Once again we have here a relatively 'sanitised' version of the myth: there is no mention of copulation with a rock or the hermaphrodism of Agdistis, but the castration receives full attention—as could have been expected from Ovid.

In its simplicity, Ovid's account also conforms to that of Pausanias (7.17.10–12), whose account largely overlaps with that of Timotheus, as Hepding already saw. According to Pausanias, Zeus copulated with a rock and thus begot the hermaphroditic Agdistis, whom the gods castrated. From his organ there grew an almond tree, a fruit of which made the daughter of the river Sangarios (Ovid's Sagaritis) pregnant. A boar raised the child, Attis, who grew into a very handsome young man. When he was going to get married to the daughter of the king, Agdistis appeared, whereupon Attis, in a frenzy, castrated himself and the king. Agdistis repented, and he requested Zeus not to let Attis' body be corrupted or rot away.

In his chronological enumeration, Hepding prints Pausanias' notice in a column parallel to Timotheus' account. This procedure has had the unhappy effect that not even Burkert differentiates between the two.[73] However, there is a remarkable difference between the two accounts. Whereas Timotheus mentions Agdistis and the Mother of the Gods, Pausanias mentions only Agdistis. On the other hand, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion and the Anonymus Ovidianus make no

[72] P.E. Knox, "Representing the Great Mother to Augustus," in G. Herbert-Brown (ed.), *Ovid's Fasti* (Oxford, 2002) 155–74 at 167–70.

[73] *Contra* Hepding, *Attis*, 104; Burkert: *Structure and History*, 190 note 23, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 73 and *Kleine Schriften* II, 93; similarly, Lancellotti, *Attis*, 23, who, moreover, did not notice that Pausanias distinguishes between the versions of Hermesianax (who is not even mentioned in her index) and Pessinous: source criticism is a weak side of especially the first part of her book.

mention of Agdistis but only of Kybele. How can we explain these differences?

We know that Pausanias wrote in the last quarter of the second century AD, came from Magnesia on Mount Sipylus,[74] and had observed that in "his own time" the well of Midas in the temple of Zeus was still shown in Ankyra, which was not that far from Pessinous. As he accurately locates Pessinous "below Mount Agdistis where they say that Attis was buried" (1.4.5), there is thus every reason to believe that he had visited Pessinous himself and made some inquiries.[75] As he stresses that he relates the local myth (*epichôrios logos*), we should not conflate his account with that of Timotheus, but consider Pausanias' notice a most valuable witness for what was narrated in Pessinous towards the end of the second century AD.

This conclusion naturally raises the question as to why Pausanias did not hear anything about Kybele, but we can understand this problem only when we now try to reconstruct the history and meaning of the myth and ritual at Pessinous. We have already looked at a number of details when discussing the various versions, but now we will try to present an integral picture of the Pessinuntine cult in broad strokes. Let us start once again by looking at the mythical protagonists. Timotheus, our earliest extensive source, mentions four names that also recur in the other reports: the Mother of the Gods (in other versions called Kybele), Agdistis, Gallus and Attis. The occurrence of the Mother of the Gods is probably due to the influence of Kybele. As two sixth-century Phrygian inscriptions show, Kybele was worshipped in Phrygia itself as *matar kubileya* or *kubeleya*, 'Mother of Mt Kybel(l)on or Kybela'.[76] In the seventh century she was already 'exported' to Greece. Here,

[74] For Pausanias' time and place see Ch. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985) 9–15; W. Ameling, "Pausanias und die hellenistische Geschichte," in J. Bingen (ed.), *Pausanias historien* = *Entretiens Hardt* 41 (Geneva, 1996) 117–60 at 156–7 (after AD 170).

[75] For Pausanias' interest in interviewing people, see Ø. Andersen, in Bingen, *Pausanias historien*, 271f.

[76] Brixhe and Lejeune, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*, W-04, B-03. Note that the manuscripts have *Kybellon* in Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυβέλεια; note also the plural *Kybella* in schol. Lyc. 1170; the same strange alternation of singular and plural also occurs in Dindymon/Dindyma (note 79). Jacoby (on Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 12) rejected the etymology, but C. Brixhe, "Le nom de Cybèle," *Die Sprache* 25 (1979) 40–5 and L. Zgusta, "Weiteres zum Namen der Kybele," *Die Sprache* 28 (1982) 171–2 have since convincingly defended it; see also Munn, *The Mother of the Gods*, 120–5; in general now also B. Bøgh, "The Phrygian Background of Kybele," *Numen* 54 (2007) 304–39.

from the early fifth century onwards, she became known either more generally as *Matâr o(u)reia*, 'Mountain Mother',[77] or more specifically as *Matêr Idaia*, 'Mother of Mt Ida',[78] or *Mêtêr Dindymenê*, 'Mother of Mt Dindymon/a',[79] the mountain that gave the name to the mother of Kybele in the account of Dionysius Scythobrachion (above). However, in Mycenaean times the Greeks also had a Divine Mother (PY Fr1202), and the two Mothers may have soon become identified.[80]

Now Timotheus has introduced both the Mother of the Gods and Agdistis in his story, but that was one goddess too many. This is also clear from the other three accounts that we have discussed: they all make use of either Kybele or Agdistis, but none retains them both. Presumably, Timotheus thought that Agdistis would be insufficiently known to his public, and thus he introduced the Mother of the Gods to represent the ecstatic side of the goddess. Yet he apparently also felt that he could not do without Agdistis who represented the hermaphroditic side, and thus Timotheus introduced them both into his story. This narrative trick apparently worked outside Pessinous, as the versions of Hermesianax and Dionysius Scythobrachion show, but it did not catch on in Pessinous itself. This becomes clear from Strabo, who in his report of his visit of about 50 BC writes that Pessinous contains "a temple of the Mother of the Gods that is deeply venerated. They call her Agdistis" (12.5.3). In other words, the locals had rejected the Greek innovation and stuck to the original name of their goddess, Agdistis, and that is why Pausanias too did not hear anything about Kybele or the Mother of the Gods. Yet in due time the Greek tradition caught

[77] *Hom. Hymn* 14.1; Pind. fr. 70b.9, 95.3; Ar. *Av*. 746, 873ff; Telestes *PMG* 810.2–3; Eur. *Hipp*. 14 and fr. 472.13; Tim. *Pers*. 124.

[78] Eur. *Or*. 1453; for her cult on Ida see also Eur. *Helen*, 1323–24 and fr. 586, to be read with the observations on the text by S. Radt in A. Harder *et al*. (eds.), *Noch einmal zu…Kleine Schriften von Stefan Radt zu seinen 75. Geburtstag* (Leiden, 2002) 439–40; Varro, *Onos lyras* 358; Lucr. 2.611; Strabo 10.3.12, 22; Verg. *A*. 9.600–1 with Harrison; Bömer on Ov. *F*. 4.182; Liv. 29.10.5; Stat. *Theb*. 10.170; Hsch. ι 157; this chapter, note 125.

[79] Hdt. 1.80.1 (Cyzicus); Strabo 14.1.40 and Plut. *Them*. 30.6 (Magnesia); Arr. *An*. 5.6.4 (Dindyma; the plural also in Verg. *Aen*. 9.618; Ov. *F*. 4.234). S. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1993) II.22 observes that "there is remarkably little evidence that the Pessinuntine cult of Meter Dindymene travelled," noting *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (= *MAMA*) VIII.363.

[80] For the place of the Mother of the Gods in Athens see Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 31–55; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 1996) 159–60, 188–94; N. Robertson, "The Ancient Mother of the Gods. A Missing Chapter in the History of Greek Religion," in Lane, *Cybele*, 239–304.

up with Pessinous and in later Roman times Agdistis is called 'Mother of the Gods' on coins and local inscriptions.[81]

Agdistis was the name of the local mountain Agdus (so Arnobius) or Agdistis (Pausanias 1.4.5) of Pessinous,[82] which is not otherwise attested in literary sources. Fortunately, though, Louis Robert has published several coins that carry the name Agdistis and show a mountain;[83] it may well have been the highest or most prominent peak of Mt Dindymon. Apparently, Agdistis was the local variant of the type of mountain goddess that had also generated Kybele.

As regards Gallus, recent studies of Kybele and/or Attis have argued that the invading Gauls gave the name Galli to the priests of Pessinous and the river Gallos.[84] This explanation cannot be true. As we have seen, Timotheus probably already mentioned the castration of Gallus, who seems to have been the king and the mythical reflection of Attis' eunuch priests, just like Attis himself. His name, then, predated the invasion of the Gauls;[85] a Gallos even occurs in the genealogy of the Cappadocian kings (Diod. Sic. 31.19.1) but we do not know the antiquity of this (undoubtedly imaginary) ancestor. Moreover, Gallus' name can hardly be separated from the name of the river Gallos, which was already called so before the arrival of the Gauls, since Timotheus (*apud* Alexander Polyhistor) calls the neighbouring peoples Potamogallitai, just as Promathidas (*FGrH* 430 F 6), a contemporary of Alexander, called them Potamogallenoi.[86] There seems therefore no reason to doubt the

[81] Inscriptions: *I. Pessinous* 17, 24, 64A; P. Lambrechts and R. Bogaert, "Asclépios, archigalle pessinontien de Cybèle," in J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1969) II.405–14. Coins: J. Devreker and M. Waelkens (eds.), *Les fouilles de Rijksuniversiteit Gent à Pessinonte* I (Brugge, 1984) 173–4, nos. 1–10.

[82] Strabo (12.5.3) calls the mountain Dindymon and says that it gave the name Dindymene to the goddess, just like Kybele was named after Mt Kybela (plural, strangely enough). For (Meter) Dindymene see Hdt. 1.80.5; AR 1.1125; *AP* 7.728; Hor. *C.* 1.16.5; Strabo 10.3.12, 12.8.11, 13.4.5, 14.1.40; Mart. 8.81.1; Arr. *An.* 5.6.4; Paus. 7.17.9, 7.20.3, 8.46.4; Hsch. δ 1858, ι 157; *I. Prusa* 1021; *MAMA* I.338.

[83] Robert, *A travers de l'Asie Mineure*, 236, who on p. 238 note 69 refers to the epigraphical bibliography with the varying forms of the name, such as Agdissis, Aggistis, Angdisis, Angistis or Anggdistis.

[84] Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 119–20; Lane, "The Name of Cybele's Priests, the Galloi"; S. Takacs, "Kybele," in *Der neue Pauly* 6 (1999) 950–56 at 951; Lancellotti, *Attis*, 101 note 203; Strubbe on *I. Pessinous* 64.

[85] As was seen already by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 292.

[86] For the river and its name see M. Waelkens, "Pessinunte et le Gallos," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 349–73; J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronomie* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 56.

ancient explanation that the Galli were named after the river Gallos or its eponymous king Gallus.[87]

Soon after Timotheus the name of the priests became known widely known in Greece. We meet a Gallus perhaps first in an anecdote about the philosopher Arcesilaus (*apud* Diog. Laert. 4.43), and subsequently the name occurs in Callimachus (fr. 411; note also *Iambi* III.35),[88] Rhianus (*AP* 6.173 = 3236–41 GP), Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220 = 1539–54 GP), Antipater (*AP* 6.219 = 608–31 GP) and 'Simonides' (*AP* 6.217 = 3304–13 GP). Alexander Aetolus (*AP* 7.709 = 150–55 GP) refers to them without mentioning their name and is therefore commonly overlooked in this respect.[89]

As regards Attis, we have seen that his name clearly is a Greek invention, as the oldest inscription with the name, Timotheus and Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) attest. On the other hand, Demosthenes, Neanthes, Hermesianax, Nicander (*Al.* 8), Arrian (*Tact.* 33) and Pausanias call the god Attes, whereas Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220, 3 = 1541 GP) names his priest of Kybele Atys.[90] There seems to have been no authoritative tradition in this respect, which supports our suggestion of a relatively late origin for the god (§ 2).

The first time that we hear of Attis in Pessinous itself is in 189 BC, when the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso campaigned against the Galatians. When he had crossed the Sangarius river, two Galli appeared in full ornament "on behalf of Attis and Battakos,[91] the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinous".[92] Apparently a double priesthood was in charge of the cult, and we may perhaps compare the occasion when in 190 BC Livius Salinator threatened to besiege Sestus and *duo Galli* came out to beseech him (Pol. 21.6.7; Liv. 37.9.9). A series of letters from Eumenes II and Attalos II to Attis between 163 and 155 shows that 'Attis' was a title rather than the personal name of an individual priest and that, moreover, the 'Attis' was clearly the more

[87] Call. fr. 411; Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 74; Ov. *F.* 4.361ff.; Pliny, *NH* 5.147; Hdn. 1.11.2; Festus 84L; *Et. Magnum* 220; App. *Prov.* 1.67; Macar. *Prov.* 2.92.

[88] Note also the reference to a Gallus in Call. fr. 193.35–6, cf. A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* (Oxford, 1999) 78–80; B. Acosta-Hughes, *Polyeideia. The Iambi of Callimachus and the Archaic Iambic Tradition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2002) 245f.

[89] E. Magnelli, *Alexandri Aetoli testimonia et fragmenta* (Florence, 1999) 234–8.

[90] For further variants see Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 359f.

[91] For the epichoric character of the name Battakos see Robert, *Noms*, 533f.

[92] Pol. 21.37.5; Diod. Sic. 36.13; Liv. 38.18.9; Plut. *Mar.* 17.

prominent member of this duo.[93] As Aioiorix, the Galatian name of the brother of this 'Attis', demonstrates, the Galatians had taken over the supervision of the cult, and they may well have skipped the traditional castration of the high priest. It seems, then, that after 300 BC Pessinous had started to differentiate between the mythical figure Attes and the priest 'Attis', with the latter variant of the name apparently imported from Greece.

A development from name to title is not totally unique. In Ephesus, the eunuch (!) priest of Artemis was called Megabyxos and this title must have developed from the name of one of the first Persians that took over the office.[94] Now in Timotheus' account the king is called Gallus, as we have seen. Can it be that in his time the highest priest was perhaps called Gallus and that things had changed in the period between him and 190 BC, just as there may have been some changes in the Ephesian cult of Artemis after the take-over by the Persians? In any case, the mythical Attis did not rise to great prominence in Pessinous, since he is mentioned only once on local inscriptions and appears on coins only with the goddess and never just by himself.[95]

Even though we may now know a bit more about the protagonists of the cult, much remains obscure about the myth and the ritual. The myth apparently told of the miraculous birth of Agdistis, the birth of Attis, the amorous relationship between the two, the wedding with the daughter of the king, the castration of Attis and his father-in-law Gallus, and Attis' death. However, the exact Pessinuntine narration around 300 BC, if there was indeed an authoritative narration, is no longer recoverable. It is clear, though, that the myth made use of ancient Anatolian traditions and explained the relationship between Agdistis and Attis, which may well have been the model for the self-presentation

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[93] See now *I. Pessinous* 1–7 with Strubbe From earlier studies note C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Age* (Yale, 1934) nos 55–61; B. Virgilio, *Il "tempio stato" di Pessinunte fra Pergamo e Roma nel II–I secolo a. C.* (Pisa, 1981); A. Rasmussen, "The Attalid Kingdom and the Cult of Cybele at Pessinous," in K. Ascani *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient History Matters. Festschrift Jens Erik Skydsgaard* (Rome, 2002) 159–63. For the 'Attis-priest' note also *I. Pessinous* 18, 36.

[94] Office: Tzetzes, *Chil.* 8.400 (painting of a M. by the Ephesian Parrhasios [*ca.* 440–380]); Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.6; Pliny, *NH* 35.132 (tomb of a M. by Antidotos [earlier fourth century]); Pliny, *NH* 35.93 (painting of a procession of a M. by Apelles); Strabo 14.1.23; Plut. *M.* 58d, 471–2; Quint. 5.12.21, who also mentions paintings; Heraclit. *Ep.* 9; Ael. *VH.* 2.2; W. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004) 105–7. Name: see Appendix 3.

[95] Devreker and Waelkens, *Fouilles de Pessinonte*, 173–4, nos. 1–4, 222 no. 25.

of the Galli, the castration of the priests and, perhaps, the yearly festival in memory of Attis.

On the ritual level it is clear that we have to do with a festival and a priesthood, the Galli. The festival is recoverable only in outline: it took place in the spring, as it later did in Rome,[96] and an important element was the mourning for Attis, apparently in front of an image of him.[97] However, 'ritual logic' requires that lamentations are succeeded by rejoicings, just as in the later Roman ritual the setting up of the pine (22 March) and the *dies sanguinis* (23 March) were followed by the Hilaria (24 March). It is here that I would like to place the tree. Recent studies of Attis have stressed the absence of the pine in his Phrygian cult (above). Yet it is hard to imagine that the Romans would have invented the presence of the pine completely *ex nihilo*, the more so as pine cones are already attested in the Mater Magna's second-century (BC) shrine on the Palatine.[98] And indeed, Pausanias' mention of an almond tree and the Greek name of the *dendrophori*, the central actors of the Roman ritual of the *Arbor intrat*,[99] do suggest an Anatolian origin of the Roman pine. Now we know that a decorated tree was part of the Hittite New Year festival, the spring EZEN *purulliyaš*, as symbol of the blessings desired for the new year.[100] As Dionysius' version of the Attis myth relates that the mourning was preceded by infertility of the land,[101] we would expect that the ritual would end this desolate situation. The ritual of the tree, perhaps an almond tree, would well fit such a new beginning.

At the spring festival of Atargatis in Hierapolis, decorated tree-trunks also played a prominent role and it seems that during this festival the prospective Galli of Atargatis castrated themselves.[102] Given this

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[96] Schol. Nic. *Al.* 8e; for the Roman evidence see the full bibliography in Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 500 note 2.

[97] Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* Diod Sic. 3.59.7; schol.Nic. *Al.* 8e.

[98] Roller, *In Search of God*, 279.

[99] See most recently J.-M. Salamito, "Les dendrophores dans l'empire chrétien. A propos du Code Théodosien XIV,8,1 et XVI,10,20,2," *MÉFRA* 99 (1987) 991–1018; R. Rubio Rivera, "Collegium dendrophorum: corporación profesional y cofradía metróaca," *Gerión* 11 (1993) 175–83; R. Gordon, in *Der neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 477; V.-M. Liertz, "Die Dendrophoren aus Nida und Kaiserverehrung von Kultvereinen im Nordwesten des Imperium Romanum," *Arctos* 35 (2001) 115–28.

[100] V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, 1994) 742–47, 718f.

[101] Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* Diod Sic. 3.59.7.

[102] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 137; Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 500–04.

resemblance, it is hardly probable that there is not some connection between this festival and that of Attis in Pessinous, even though the historical lines are totally obscure. It may therefore well have been the case that prospective Galli also castrated themselves during Attis' festival in Pessinous.[103]

Burkert suggests connecting the name of the Galli, who were hierarchically structured,[104] with the Mesopotamian *gallu*, who are Inanna's infernal retinue, and with that of the Babylonian *kalu*, the lamentation priests, by adducing the name *Kalaos* of Attis' father as given by Hermesianax.[105] However, as the name of the Galli derived from the river, as we just saw, the name Kalaos is more likely a variant of Gallos than a trace of Babylonian priests who were not castrated and thus lacked the most prominent aspect of the Galli.[106]

Although influence from Mesopotamia is not impossible,[107] castration was reasonably popular in Anatolia itself, since it is also attested in the cult of Ephesian Artemis (above), of Hekate of Carian Lagina,[108] and in the temple of the Galli in Phrygian Hierapolis (Strabo 13.4.14). Moreover, castration already plays a prominent role in the Hurrian *Kumarbi Cycle*, that inspired Zeus' swallowing of the phallus of the first cosmic king in the Derveni Papyrus (Col. XIII.4).[109] It seems, then, preferable

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[103] For a detailed discussion of the nature of these castrations see A. Rousselle, *Porneia* (Oxford, 1988) 122–28, who overlooked the probable eye-witness report by Aretaios, cf. A. Henrichs, "Dromena und Legomena," in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998) 33–71 at 56–7; note also the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 11.14.

[104] This is also stressed by Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," 1528. However, the term *archigallus* is not attested before the second century AD and clearly an imperial invention, see *ThLL s.v. archigallus*; *Tituli Asiae Minoris* III.1. 267, 578, 619; *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* II.206 with Mitchell; Lambrechts and Bogaert, "Asclépios, archigalle".

[105] Burkert, *Structure and History*, 111 and 198 note 20, who ascribes the name Kalaos to Timotheus.

[106] See also the persuasive criticism of Burkert's suggestion by Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 77f.

[107] But note that eunuchs were attached only very rarely to Assyrian temples, cf. A.K. Grayson, "Eunuchs in Power. Their Role in the Assyrian Bureaucracy," in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995) 85–98; K. Deller, "The Assyrian Eunuchs and Their Predecessors," in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (Heidelberg, 1999) 303–11; J. Reade, "The Wellesley Eunuch," *Rev. d'Assyriol.* 95 (2001) 67–79.

[108] *I. Stratonikeia* 513, 544, 1101.19.

[109] L. Brisson, "Sky, Sea and Sun. The Meanings of αἰδοῖος/αἰδοῖον in the Derveni Papyrus," *ZPE* 144 (2003) 19–29; Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 90–2; for the Hittite original see most recently García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas*, 167.

in this case to derive the practice from epichoric, perhaps originally Hurrian traditions. Phenomenologically, as Borgeaud has seen,[110] the Galli belong to those transcultural groups of men who have given up their male sexuality in the service of religion, such as the American Berdaches and Indian Hijras.[111] Their particular choice enables them to function in a male-dominated society where they perhaps might not have survived otherwise or not achieved the important function they evidently coveted.

4. *Attis' arrival in Rome and the poem of Catullus*

In 204 BC Kybele was introduced in Rome as *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* or, more shortly, *Mater Magna*—not *Magna Mater*, as even the most recent British historians of Roman religion write.[112] The mention of Ida, the name of the Mother of the Gods, the *dendrophori* (§ 3), the Greek language of the cult songs (Servius on Verg. *G.* 2.394) and the iconography of the Roman votive figurines all support Varro's notice that the goddess came from Pessinous via Pergamum,[113] and not straight from Pessinous as most sources tell us.[114] Although second-century terracotta votive figurines of Attis were found at the shrine of the Mater Magna

[110] Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 78–9; see also W. Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred* (Cambridge MA, 1996) 47–51; for castration in antiquity in general, R. Muth, "Kastration," in *RAC* 20 (2004) 285–342.

[111] For these two categories see most recently: W. Roscoe, *Changing Ones: third and fourth genders in Native North America* (New York, 1998); S. Nanda, *Neither Man Nor Woman: the Hijras of India* (Belmont, 1999); J.N. Bremmer and L.P. van den Bosch, "Castration," in S. Young (ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and world religion*, 2 vols (New York, 1999) I.140–1.

[112] M. Beard *et al.*, *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1998) I.96; similarly, Morisi, *Catullo*, 81, cf. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912²) 317–25; K. Ziegler, '"Mater Magna" oder "Magna Mater",' in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, II.845–55; add *I. Pessinous* 146. For the introduction of the cult see most recently Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 304–7; Bremmer and Horsfall, *Roman Myth*, 105–11 (by Bremmer); E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden, 1990) 5–33; Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 89–130; R. Nauta, "Phrygian Eunuchs and Roman *Virtus*: the cult of the Mater Magna and the Trojan origins of Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in G. Urso (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore* (Pisa, 2007) 79–92.

[113] Varro: *LL* 6.15, cf. K. Kuiper, "De Matre Magna Pergamenorum," *Mnemosyne* NS 30 (1902) 277–306. Pergamene influence: Roller, *In Search of God*, 212, 278; A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2001) 205–25. Beard, *Religions of Rome*, I.96 goes too far in not even mentioning Pessinous.

[114] Diod. Sic. 34.33.2; Strabo 12.5.3; Val. Max. 8.15.3; Sil. It. 17.3; App. *Hann.* 56.233; Hdn. 1.11.1.

on the Palatine,[115] in the surviving literature his name appears for the very first time in Roman literature in Catullus 63.[116]

Catullus wrote his poem at a time that was interested in the cult of Kybele and, occasionally, Attis. In the years 80–67 BC,[117] Varro wrote about the cult of Kybele in his Menippean satires *Cycnus* (fr. 79), and *Eumenides* (fr. 132–43),[118] and somewhere between 80 and 45 BC Laberius put on his mime *Galli* (Gellius 6.9.3), just at the time when Valerius Messalla Niger also mentioned the Attis myth (§ 3). In 57 and 56 BC Cicero paid much attention to the battle for the office of 'Attis' between Deiotarus and Brogitarus in Pessinous,[119] exactly in the years that Catullus served in Bithynia under Memmius as propraetor: he may well have regularly heard about the affair.[120] It is in this very same decade that Catullus' friend Caecilius wrote a poem about the *Dindymi domina*, as we know from Catullus' reaction (35.14),[121] and that Lucretius published his *De rerum natura* with his picture of the cult of Kybele (2.600–60).[122] It is attractive to date Catullus' poem, too, to these early years of the 50s, and see perhaps a connection with the struggle

[115] Roller, *In Search of God*, 275–79, who thus refutes the objections raised by P. Lambrechts, *Attis en het feest der Hilariën* (Amsterdam, 1967) 3; Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," 1506.

[116] Although U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1924) II.293 rightly states of Varro's *Eumenides*: "da kam auch der wirkliche Attis vor".

[117] For the chronology see E. Zaffagno, 'I problemi delle "Satire Menippee",' *Studi Noniani* 4 (1977) 207–52 at 208–12.

[118] In his poem Catullus probably alluded to both satires. J.-P. Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées* 3 (Rome, 1975) 338 persuasively compares Varro's *tua templa ad alta fani properans citus iere* (*Cycnus* 79) with both Catullus' *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Kybeles nemora simul* (12) and *viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus* (30). Th. Roper, *Eumenidum reliquiae*, 3 vols (Danzig, 1858) III.39 had already compared Varro's *apage in dierectum a domo nostra istam insanitatem* (*Eum*. 142) with Catullus' *procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo: alios age incitatos, alios age rapidos* (92–3).

[119] Cic. *De domo sua* 60, 129; *De har. resp*. 28; *Pro Sestio* 57–9.

[120] Curiously, F. Cairns, "Catullus in and about Bithynia: Poems 68, 10, 28 and 47," in D. Braund and C. Gill (eds.), *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome. Studies in Honour of T.P. Wiseman* (Exeter, 2003) 165–90 does not mention our poem.

[121] But see G. Biondi, "Il carme 35 di Catullo," *Materiali e Discussioni* 41 (1998) 35–69.

[122] For Lucretius' picture see more recently L. Lacroix, "Texte et réalités à propos du témoignage de Lucrèce sur la Magna Mater," *J. des Savants* 1982, 11–43; J. Jope, "Lucretius, Cybele, and Religion," *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 250–62; J. Schmidt, *Lukrez, der Kepos und die Stoiker* (Frankfurt, 1990) 113–25; K. Summers, "Lucretius' Roman Cybele," in Lane, *Cybele*, 337–65; C. Craca, *Le possibilità della poesia. Lucrezio e la Madre frigia in De rerum natura II 598–660* (Bari, 2000); R. Nauta, "Catullus 63 in a Roman Context," in Nauta and Harder, *Catullus' Poem on Attis*, 87–119 at 105–9.

for the main office in Pessinous. Such a connection would explain why in his poem the chief, *duce me* (15) and *per nemora dux* (32), of the group of castrated Galli (17) is called Attis, as there is no Hellenistic example of the name in this capacity.

Catullus' *Attis* has received much attention over the years, but here we will limit ourselves to the religious aspects of Catullus' poem. Such a point of view is of course one-sided, but it may not be without interest, given the mainly literary attention over the years and the almost total lack of attention to the religious side of the poem in the more recent commentaries of Fordyce (1961), Quinn (1970), Thomson (1997) and Morisi (1999), in contrast to the older ones of Ellis (1889) and Kroll (1929[2]).

The poem starts with the hurried voyage of Attis to the wooded mountain range of Ida (2–3, 30, 70).[123] Attis is not introduced at all, but the central position of his name in the opening line and many others (27, 32, 42, 45, 88) leaves no doubt about his pre-eminent position within the poem.[124] The choice of Ida is not evident and must have been motivated by the official Roman name of Kybele, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* (above), and the Trojan descent of the Romans.[125] The mention of fury (*stimulatus furenti rabie*: 4), a major theme in the poem,[126] prepares the reader for Attis' instant castration with a flint (5),[127] as they already did in Pessinous (Arnobius 6.11). However, from the first century onwards less 'manly' prospective members (*excusez le mot*) of the cult may also have used a knife.[128] By this deed Attis lost

[123] For the prologue see P. Fedeli, "Il prologo dell'*Attis* di Catullo," in *Studi di poesia latina in onore di A. Traglia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1979) I.149–60.

[124] T. Means, 'Catullus lxiii—Position of the Title-Name "Attis," and its Possible Significance,' *Class. Philol.* 22 (1927) 101f.

[125] For the Roman association of Kybele with Ida and their interest in that mountain, see Erskine, *Troy*, 213–7; Nauta, "Catullus 63," 91–2; this chapter, note 78.

[126] Note also *demens* (89), *furens* (4), *furibundus* (31, 54), *furor* (38, 78–9, 92), *rabidus* (38, 85, 93) and *rabies* (4, 44, 57). The theme is discussed by H.P. Syndikus, *Catull*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1990) II.92, but overlooked in the useful enumerations of key themes by J.P. Elder, 'Catullus "Attis",' *Am. J. Philol.* 68 (1947) 394–403 at 402–3 and G.N. Sandy, "The Imagery of Catullus 63," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 389–99.

[127] For this traditional usage of the flint or a pot sherd see Lucilius, *Sat.* 7; Ov. *F.* 4.237; Pliny, *NH.* 35.165; Juv. 6.514; Mart. 3.81.3; Plut. *Nic.* 13.4; Min. Fel. 23.4, 24.12.

[128] Pliny, *NH.* 35.165; Juv. 2.116, 6.514; Stat. *Theb.* 12.227; Mart. 2.45.2, 3.24.10 and 81.3, 9.2.14; Lact. *Inst.* 5.917; Manetho, *Ap.* 5.179–80; Prud. *Perist.* 10.1081; Bömer on Ov. *F.* 4.237; G. Sanders, "Gallos," in *RAC* 8 (1972) 984–1034 at 1004. Philippus, *AP* 6.94.5 (= 2724 GP) calls the knife *sagaris* with an evident allusion to the river Sangarios near Pessinous (§ 3).

his manhood and thus, in the logic of gender, had become a woman. The text signals this by both a change of gender to the feminine (8, 11, 14–5, etc.)[129] and the use of the term Gallae (12), a device that Catullus had borrowed from a Hellenistic predecessor (below). Vergil followed suit and wrote *O vere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges* (*Aen*. 9.617), even though the Homeric model is hardly to be overlooked (*Il*. II.235, VII.96); not surprisingly, then, the Galli are called *semiviri* by Varro and *semimares* by Ovid.[130]

At first Catullus leaves the identity of the object of his worship literally somewhat in the dark: *opaca… loca Deae* (3). However, the tambourine (8–9), the instrument *par excellence* of Kybele already in Greece (below), betrays the name of the goddess, although *Cybebe* (9) is a much more frequent variant of her name in Roman than in Greek poetry.[131] Even closer to the world of Attis is her name *Dindymena domina* (13), an expression almost similar to the *Dindymi dominam* of Catullus' friend Caecilius (35.14) and perhaps homage to him. In Latin, we find both Dindymon and Dindyma, which, curiously, is the same alternation between the singular and plural that we find between Kybel(l)on and Kybela (§ 3). It is her mountain that is the goal of Attis and his group.

However, we only occasionally hear of Galli worshipping Kybele in the mountains, whereas we know very well a group of women—and remember that we are talking here about 'women'—that regularly went into the mountains for cultic reasons, namely the Maenads. And they are exactly whom Catullus is referring to here; in fact, he even calls the mountains the area of the Maenads (23) and Attis' group a *thiasus* (27; similarly used in 64.254), *the* technical term for the Dionysiac group. This connection between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos is not new. It had already struck Strabo (10.3.12–6), who, probably via Apollodorus,[132] provides us with some important testimonies for this development. This becomes already epigraphically visible in Olbia in the sixth century (*SEG* 48.1020), but in literature it really takes off in Euripides after fleeting appearances in Aeschylus (fr. 57) and Pindar

[129] For brief discussions of the text-critical aspects of this change see Syndikus, *Catull*, II.85 and Nauta, "Catullus 63," 92f.

[130] *Semiviri*: Varro, *Eum*. 140; Verg. *Aen*. 4.215, 12.97; Sen. *Ep*. 108.7; Sil. It. 17.20; Stat. *Ach*. 2.78; Mart. 3.91.1, 9.20.8. *Semimares*: Ov. *F*. 4.183.

[131] *ThLL s.v. Cybebe*; Nauta, "Catullus 63," 92.

[132] E. Schwartz, in *RE* I.2 (1894) 2869.

(fr. 70b.8–11).[133] Ptolemaeus Philopater was even called Gallus as he had himself tattood with ivy (*Et. Magnum* 220).

Given the *rapprochement* between Kybele and Dionysos, it is hardly surprising that scholars have drawn attention to the fact that in this epyllion Catullus draws on both Metroac and Dionysiac literature. An example of the combination is the Hellenistic fragment that served as the example for the term Gallae:

> Γαλλαὶ,[134] μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες,
> αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα.
>
> Gallae, thyrsus-loving runners of the Mountain Mother,
> whose instruments and bronze castanets are clattering (tr. Harder).[135]

It is clear that the Gallae and the Mountain Mother refer to Kybele, whereas the thyrsos was typical of Dionysos,[136] just as παταγεῖν is attested only in a Maenadic context (Pratinas *PGM* 708.2–3). 'Running', on the other hand, is suitable to both Galli (speed is a major theme in our poem)[137] and Maenads,[138] just like the castanets are attested for both Dionysos and Kybele.[139]

Recently, scholars have also pointed to the influence of the *Bacchae* and Theocritus 26, a poem with a version of the *Bacchae* as well, on Catullus' poem.[140] It is not surprising, then, that we can find at least three more examples of this influence. First, Attis calls his 'women' to the woods (12), the *Idalium frondosum* (64.96), just like the mountainous

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[133] See Kannicht on Eur. *Hel*. 1301–68; Dodds, Roux and Seaford on Eur. *Bacch*. 78–9; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 189 note 134; Fedeli on Prop. 3.17.35–6; S. Lavecchia, *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta* (Rome, 2000) 141–44.

[134] For the accent see now Nauta, "Hephaestion and Catullus 63 again," 146 note 1.

[135] The anonymous fragment is quoted by Hephaestion 12.3. Its ascription to Callimachus (fr. 761 inc. auct.) has been wrongly impugned, cf. the recent discussion by A. Dale, "Galliambics by Callimachus," *CQ* 57 (2007) 775–81.

[136] H. Schauber, "Der Thyrsos und seine pflanzliche Substanz," *Thetis* 8 (2001) 35–46; I. Krauskopf, "Thystla, Thyrsoi und Narthekophoroi. Anmerkungen zur Geschichte des dionysischen Kultstabes," *ibidem*, 47–52.

[137] Cf. *celer* (1), *celerare* (26), *citatus* (2, 8, 18, 26), *citus* (30, 42, 74), *excitus* (42), *incitatus* (93), *mora cedat* (19), *properante pede* (30), *properipedem* (34), *rapidus* (16, 34, 44) and *volitare* (25).

[138] Eur. *Bacch*. 136, 748; Eur. *Antig.* fr. 175.5 with Kannicht.

[139] Dionysos: Eur. *Cycl*. 205; Antipater, *AP* 9.603, 6 (= 597 GP). Kybele: *HHom*. 14.3; Pind. fr. 70b.10; Eur. *Hel*. 1309.

[140] G.O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford, 1988) 310–14; A. Perutelli, "Il carme 63 di Catullo," *Maia* 48 (1996) 255–70 at 267–69; Morisi, *Catullo*, 92 (a good comparison of Eur. *Bacch*. 152–67 with the beginning of the poem); M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and innovation in Hellenistic poetry* (Cambridge, 2004) 477–80.

woods are the settings of the traditional Maenads.[141] Secondly, his cry *agite ite ad alta nemora* (12), even if parodied by Vergil's Numanus Remulus as *ite per alta Dindyma* (*Aen*. 9.617–8), comes close to the traditional cry *eis oros*, *eis oros* that guided the Maenads to the mountains.[142] And thirdly, the wanderings of the followers of Dionysos, *le dieu voyageur* as Jeanne Roux (on Eur. *Bacch*. 13–20) calls him, are reflected in the wanderings of the *vaga pecora* (13) of Kybele,[143] the *vaga cohors* (25), with their *citatis erroribus* (18) and *volitare* (25), a word that Catullus also uses for the wanderings of Dionysos.[144] As Cicero (*De har. resp*. 11.24) knew that *Matrem Magnam… agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrare*, we may have here another convergence between the myths of Dionysos and the cult of Kybele, since the Galli more and more became "nomades qui vont de place publique en place publique".[145]

After the initial call, Attis now proceeds with a description of the nature of the woods where again he combines the activities of the followers of Dionysos and Kybele (19–26). He first enumerates the typical musical instruments of Kybele,[146] which are also found in the cult of Dionysos, such as the cymbal, tambourine (both instruments are often mentioned together)[147] and the Phrygian *tibia*.[148] The Romans did not

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[141] *Hom. Hymn Dem*. 386; Eur. *Bacch*. 218–9, 688, 876; Verg. *Aen*. 7.385, 387, 404 with Horsfall.

[142] Eur. *Bacch*. 116, 164, 986, cf. J.N. Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism Reconsidered," *ZPE* 55 (1984) 267–86 at 276–7; X. Riu, *Dionysism and Comedy* (Lanham and Oxford, 1999) 173–6; Morisi, *Catullo*, 84, who rightly compares the Maenadic ὀρειβασία; P. Mureddu, "Note dionisiache. Osservazioni sulle 'Bacanti' di Euripide e sugli 'Edoni' di Eschilo," *Lexis* 18 (2000) 117–25; Horsfall on Verg. *Aen*. 7.385.

[143] Note that Accius, *Ba*. fr. 1 uses *vagant* for the Maenads; Ov. *F*. 4.207.

[144] Cat. 64.251–2: *volitabat Iacchus cum thiaso Satyrorum*.

[145] Borgeaud, *La Mère*, 63 with a good discussion of the gradual *nomadisation* of the Galli.

[146] In general on Kybele's music: Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 257–58; G. Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam, 1967) 56–60; L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* II (Amsterdam, 1969) 1003f.

[147] Bömer on Ov. *F*. 5.441.

[148] Cymbal: Aesch. fr. 57 with Radt, but also note his second thoughts on the text of this fragment in Harder, *Noch einmal*, 441–4; *AP* 6.51.5 (= 3836 GP); Varro. *Eum*. 132; Prop. 3.17.36; Ov. *F*. 4.189; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 257–58. Tambourine: Aesch. fr. 71; Pind. fr. 61; *Bacch*. 59, 124, 156, *Cycl*. 205, Eur. *Hel*. 1346, fr. 586 with Kannicht; Diog. Athen. *TrGF* 45 F 1; *AP* 6.51.8 (= anon. 3839 GP), 217.5 (= 'Simonides' 3308 GP), 218.6 (= Alcaeus 139 GP), 219.9 (= Antipater 616 GP), 220.10 (= Diosc. 1548 GP); Varro, *Eum*. 140 and *Onos lyras* 358; Cat. 64.261; Lucr. 2.618–20; Prop. 3.17.33; Maec. fr. 5–6; Ov. *F*. 4.183; Babrius 141.9; Vikela, "Bemerkungen," 90 (connection with Kubaba in Carchemish). *Tibia*: Diog. Athen. *TrGF* 45 F 1; Call. fr. 193.34ff.; Varro, *Eum*. 139; Cat. 64.264; Lucr. 2.620; Tib. 2.1.86; Verg. *Aen*. 11.737; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag*. 689; Morisi, *Catullo*, 93.

like these instruments. Horace thinks the tambourine *saeva* (*C.* 1.18.13–14) and Ovid its sound *inanis* (*F.* 4.183); it was even associated with effeminacy.[149] The sound of the cymbal *terret* (Ov. *F.* 4.190; Val. Flacc. 2.583) and is *rauca* (Prop. 3.17.36), like that of the flute (*rauco*… *buxo*: Sen. *Ag.* 689; *buxus circumsonat horrida cantu*: Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269), and the horns are threatening with their *raucisono cantu* (Lucr. 2.619) and a *signum luctus* (Stat. *Theb.* 6.120–1). In short, this side of Kybele's cult evokes a picture of threatening, lugubrious cacophony rather than of harmonious and pleasant music.

Then he evokes the activities of the ivy-bearing Maenads who toss their heads in ecstasy (23), howl (24, 28: not Dionysiac, but again an unpleasant acoustic aspect of Kybele's rites), and swiftly wander about (above).[150] This is the area to which he and his followers should speed with their *citatis tripudiis* (26). Fordyce (*ad loc.*) rightly points out that the *tripudium* belongs to the ritual of the Salii,[151] but we should also note that the Salii were identified with the Kouretes (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70–1), whom Lucretius (2.631) represented as leaping about in the service of the Mater Magna; moreover, the term soon became associated with ecstatic dances.[152] As jumps and whirling dances were also part of the Maenadic ritual, it is perhaps not surprising to find in Accius' *Bacchae* Dionysos (probably) *in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem in circulis* (fr. 4).[153] Once again we notice the merging of ecstatic techniques in both cults.

It is no wonder that the group got out of breath and became exhausted when they finally reached the *domum Cybebes* (35), their goal

[149] M.W. Dickey, "The Speech of Numanus Remulus (Aeneid 9, 598–620)," *Papers Liverpool Lat. Sem.* 5 (1985) 165–221 at 175; add Quint. 5.12.21.

[150] Tossing of head in ecstatic cults: Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 304; Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism," 278–9; add Varro, *Eum.* 140; Lucr. 2.632; Maec. fr. 5–6; Tac. *Ann.* 11.31; Quint. 11.3.71; Servius auct. on Verg. *Aen.* 10.22; Nauta, "Catullus 63," 99. Howling: Verg. *Aen.* 7.395; Ov. *F.* 4.186, 341, *AA* 1.508, *Tr.* 4.1.42; Maec. fr. 5–6; Luc. 1.567; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.87–8; Mart. 5.41.3; Firm. Mat. *Err.* 3.3; Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269, Eutrop. 2.302; Servius auctus on Verg. *Aen.* 10.22; note also the *absonis ululatibus* of the followers of the Dea Syria in Apul. *Met.* 8.27.

[151] Hor. *C.* 4.1.27; Liv. 1.20.4; Plut. *Num.* 13; Festus 334L.

[152] Ov. *F.* 6.330; Apul. *Met.* 8.27; for the ecstatic dances of Kybele's worshippers see also P. Pachis, "Γαλλαῖον Κυβέλης ὀλόλυγμα," in Lane, *Cybele*, 193–222.

[153] See Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism," 279 (whirling dances; add Welcker's comparison between maenads and dervishes as discussed by A. Henrichs, "Welckers Götterlehre," in W.M. Calder *et al.* (eds.), *Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker: Werk und Wirkung*, Stuttgart 1986, 179–229 at 222) and 280 (jumps). For Accius and Euripides see I. Mariotti, "Tragédie romaine et tragédie grecque," *MH* 22 (1965) 206–16.

(20). The term *domus* is probably indicative of a Greek background, since *oikos* is a well-known Greek term for a more private 'sanctuary'.[154] They collapsed and fell asleep *sine Cerere* (36), a sign of their exhaustion rather than a reference to the required abstinence of bread in later times.[155] Once again the best parallel for such a collapse is found in Maenadic ritual. Euripides' *Bacchae* already noted "welcome in the mountains whosoever from the running *thiasoi* falls to the ground" (135–7) and described their sleep from exhaustion (683).[156] And indeed, just like the members of Attis' *thiasus*, Maenads also fall on the ground from exhaustion. Plutarch, who had access to the female leader of the Delphic Maenads, the Thyiads, relates that about 353 BC they once had been so exhausted from their dancing on the mountains that they had fallen asleep in the agora of Amphissa.[157] Apparently, such scenes appealed to the Romans, since not only Catullus, but also Propertius (1.3.5–6) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.14.21–2, *Rem.* 596) briefly sketched the exhausted Maenads.[158]

When Attis wakes up from his sleep, he has also woken up from his fascination with the Mater Magna; the critical moment receives special attention through Catullus' spending four lines on the rising of the sun that symbolizes Attis seeing the light (39–43).[159] His thoughts now focus on his fatherland that he will never see again. The address *patria o mei* (50) was a Roman device when the place had not been previously specified,[160] but the qualifications *creatrix* and *genetrix* of the fatherland are rather ironic here and focus attention on the fact that Attis himself would never be able to sire an offspring. He now contrasts his elevated social position from before with his new low status in the cult of Kybele.

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[154] A. Henrichs, "Despoina Kybele," *HSCP* 80 (1976) 253–86 at 278.

[155] *Contra* O. Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II (Amsterdam, 1973) 489–527 ("Catulls Attisgedicht," 1936[1]) at 526: "Aber das kann ja rationalistische Umwandlung der in der Vorlage versteckt angedeutenden kultischen νηστεία sein" (farfetched and the more so as we do not have the *Vorlage*); Ellis *ad loc.*, who compares Arnob. 5.16; Lancellotti, *Attis*, 88, who sees it as expressing "the dialectical opposition between these two goddesses" (i.e. Kybele and Ceres).

[156] For a probable parallel note also Chaeremon *TrGF* 71 F 14.

[157] For the episode and its representation by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema see Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism," 274; add A. Henrichs, "Der rasende Gott: Zur Psychologie des Dionysos und des Dionysischen in Mythos und Literatur," *Antike und Abendland* 40 (1994) 31–58 at 51–56.

[158] For the motif in the *Culex* (122), see F. Leo, *Culex* (Berlin, 1891) 49.

[159] For this part of the poem see especially P. Fedeli, "Dal furor divino al rimpianto del passato. Tecnica e stile di Catull 63.27–49," *Giorn. It. Filol.* 29 (1977) 40–9.

[160] E. Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address* (Oxford, 2002) 300.

Will he end up as a *Kybeles famula* (68)? A *famulus* is the property of a *dominus* or *domina*, and Varro (*Res div*. 16, fr. 269 Cardauns) already knew *Dominam proprie Matrem deum dici*, just as our source for this fragment, Serv. auct. on Verg. *Aen*. 3.113, observes: *haec eandem Eram appellari, hoc est Dominam tradunt*.[161] Indeed, Kybele was often called Despoina or Kyria in Greece, and *Domina* must be the translation of this Greek title;[162] it would fit this particular title that *famulus* was particularly used in relation to the followers of the Mater Magna.[163] However, in our poem, the 'slaves' do not address Kybele as *domina*, which would be against Latin usage, but as *era* (18, 92), which is the typical term of address of slaves to their owner.[164] The term *famula* is also one more testimony to the development in Hellenistic times where cults started to flourish in which the worshippers saw themselves as the slaves of their autocratic divinities. This development is visible even in the New Testament where Paul regularly calls himself a 'slave of God' (*Romans* 1.1, etc.).[165] Attis continues with wondering "Will I be a Maenad, I only part of myself, I an infertile man?"[166] Once again we are struck by the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac. Evidently, it made little difference whether one was a Maenad or a Gallus.

The result of all this soul-searching is that Attis already feels regret about his life choice: *iam iamque paenitet* (73). Such a regret naturally came *geminas deorum ad aures* (75), the more so as Kybele/Agdistis was also a goddess *epêkoos*,[167] and the poem closes with a funny variant on a theme often treated in the *Greek Anthology*, namely the meeting of a Gallus with a lion, in which the Gallus chased away the lion with the tambourine.[168] In the version by Alcaeus (*AP* 6.218 = 134–43 GP) the

[161] Note that neither Thilo nor Cardauns capitalizes here.

[162] See the learned study by Henrichs, "Despoina Kybele".

[163] Cic. *Leg*. 2.22; Liv. 37.9.9; Germ. 38; Val. Flacc. 3.19–20.

[164] For the usage of *domina* and *era* see Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address*, 77–99 and her "Κύριε, δέσποτα, *domine*. Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire," *JHS* 121 (2001) 1–11.

[165] This aspect was already seen by Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, 527, but put in a wider Hellenistic context by H.W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World," in H.S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden, 1981) 152–92 (although overlooking Weinreich); H.S. Versnel, *Ter unus* (Leiden, 1990) 90–1; Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess*, 538.

[166] For the frequent repetition of *ego* see J. Granarolo, "Catulle ou la hantise du *moi*," *Latomus* 37 (1978) 368–86.

[167] O. Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* I (1969) 135, 147.

[168] *AP* 6.217 (= 'Simonides' 3304–13 GP), 6.218 (= Alcaeus 134–43 GP), 6.219 (= Antipater 608–31 GP) 6.220 (= Diosc. 1539–54 GP), cf. A.F.S. Gow, "The *Gallus* and

Gallus even converts, so to speak, the lion, which starts to dance as a follower of Kybele. From the very beginning of her representations, Kybele had been connected with lions. Dionysius' Scythobrachion's (?) closing statement about the positioning of lions and panthers next to her statue (§ 3) is one more testimony to the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac, since panthers are never associated with Kybele but typical of Dionysos.[169] In Catullus' case, though, he reversed the usual theme and let the outcome be that the lion effected that Attis *omne vitae spatium famula fuit* (90).[170]

In his closing prayer Catullus once more mentions the *furor* of the *era* (92), but with a typical Roman *epipompê* he prays that this fury may pass to others.[171] Kybele might be a powerful goddess, but Catullus preferred to stay outside her sphere of influence. Some editors (Mynors 1958 = Fordyce 1961; Quinn 1970; Goold 1983) print the first line of this prayer (91) as: *dea, magna dea, Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi*, but this presents the wrong combination (*magna dea* instead of *dea magna*)[172] and disturbs the *tricolon crescendo* and anaphora, which are typical of ancient prayer.[173] So the line should be punctuated: *dea magna, dea Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi* (with, e.g., Thomson 1997; Morisi 1999).

5. *Concluding observations*

Catullus' poem, then, has no reference to the mythical Attis, just as Attis or Attes as a personal name is not attested in Rome before the first century AD,[174] when his name gradually becomes more frequent

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the Lion," *JHS* 80 (1960) 88–93; P. Fedeli, "Attis e il leone: dall'epigramma ellenistico al *c.* 63 di Catullo," in *Letterature comparate. problemi e metodo. Studi in onore de E. Paratore* I (Bologna, 1981) 247–56; E. Courtney, "Three Poems of Catullus," *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.* 32 (1985) 85–100 at 88–91; D. Gall, "Catulls Attis-Gedicht im Licht der Quellen," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* 23 (1999) 83–99.

[169] Lions: Simon, "Kybele," passim. Panthers: C. Gasparri, "Dionysos," in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 414–514 at 461 nos. 430–4.

[170] For the lion's behaviour reflecting that of the Galli see K. Shipton, "The *iuvenca* Image in Catullus 63," *CQ* 86 (1986) 268–70; Nauta, "Catullus 63," 98–9.

[171] For the type of prayer see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1573 and *Horace* (Oxford, 1957) 410–1; Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, 517–21 and III (1979) 156–84; Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in Versnel, *Faith*, 1–64 at 18–21.

[172] Cf. Prop. 3.17.35: *dea magna Cybebe* and § 4 on Mater Magna instead of the usual Magna Mater.

[173] Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, 516–18.

[174] H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1996) II.300 and *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, 3 vols (Berlin and New York, 2003²) I.403.

in the poets. Evidently, Attis was not a major cultic or mythical figure in Republican Rome.

In his major analysis of the poem from the religious point of view, Otto Weinreich made a very modern observation. According to him, we should look at the poem from the perspective of the psychology of religion, and suggested that we have to do here with a "radikaler *Fall von religiöser Bekehrung*" (his italics).[175] Weinreich had clearly been influenced in this view by the recent appearance of Nock's classical study on conversion.[176] However, it is clear that conversion is not Catullus' focus. On the contrary, he pays no attention at all to the process that led to Attis' entry into Kybele's service. Admittedly, he does provide us with a fairly detailed description of the activities of Kybele's followers, but, as we have seen, in this description Catullus hardly distinguishes between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos. This seems to suggest a Greek literary model, since the two cults developed in rather different directions in the Roman world.[177]

What must have also struck the Roman reader is Catullus' stress on the elevated social status of Attis. Both the mention of the gymnasium (60–4) and the hint at his male lovers (64–6) show that Attis is represented as belonging to the *jeunesse dorée* of his town. This went, of course, totally against the ruling ideas of Catullus' time. Roman citizens and even slaves were forbidden to join the cult,[178] just as it was forbidden to Roman citizens and slaves to castrate themselves. In 77 BC the Roman consul Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus even reversed an earlier judgment that a Roman citizen turned Gallus could inherit: such a person, after all, was neither man nor woman.[179] One cannot escape therefore the thought that this part too came from a Greek model, although we need not agree with Weinreich that Catullus when writing these lines was

[175] Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, 490. Note also that he approvingly quotes Frazer, *Adonis*, 270 note 2, that "als Schilderung eines Menschenschicksals" the poem "gains greatly in force and pathos. The real sorrows of our fellow-men touch us more nearly than the imaginary pangs of the gods," of which he will have hardly missed the anti-Christian tenor.

[176] A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933).

[177] For the development of the Dionysiac cult in Hellenistic times see Burkert, "Bacchic *Teletai* in the Hellenistic Age," in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London, 1993) 259–75; A.-F. Jaccottet, *Choisir Dionysos: les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*, 2 vols. (Kilchberg, 2003).

[178] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.5; Val. Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 104.

[179] Val. Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 44; *Dig.* 48.8.4.2.

thinking about a "Fahnenflucht aus dem Vaterland" or an "Exil in der Welt des orientalisch-weibischen Wesens".[180]

As we have already seen, the last part about the lion is equally a variation on a Hellenistic theme. This surely refutes Wiseman's unwise suggestion that the poem was meant as a hymn for the Roman Megalesia.[181] One may also wonder whether the Roman population at large would have appreciated a hymn on a youth, whom everybody would associate with passive homosexuality,[182] with awful music (§ 4) and that was written in the "weakly effeminate galliambus".[183] The poem, then, drew on a Hellenistic model or models,[184] even if the 'quote' from Accius shows that Roman models should not be overlooked either. The fact that Varro in his *Onos lyras* (358) had also mentioned the anecdote of the lion and the Gallus indicates that the anecdote exerted a certain fascination not only on the Hellenistic, but also on the Roman public. In his own variation, Catullus seems to have played with the lion theme in at least three different ways. First, he incorporated the theme into a larger poem, whereas his Hellenistic predecessors had focussed their poems on the theme only; Varro may in this respect have shown the way. Secondly, Catullus reverses the theme by letting the lion be the winner. And thirdly, in the Hellenistic anecdotes the event is related by the poet, who does not display any involvement in the cult of Kybele. In Catullus' poem, though, the story-teller immediately proceeds which what the commentaries (Fordyce, Quinn) call a 'concluding prayer'. This prayer starts with a most solemn invocation of Kybele (91) but also presents the poet indirectly as a slave of the goddess by addressing her, "servilely and abjectly",[185] as *era* (92). In other words, in the end

[180] Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, 522 (written in 1936!). For Weinreich's political sympathies see H. Cancik, "Antike Volkskunde 1936," *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 25.3 (1982) 80–99.

[181] *Contra* T.P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World. A Reappraisal* (Cambridge, 1985) 198–206. The interpretation is also rejected by Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry*, 314 note 74 and by Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Tradition and innovation*, 477 note 137.

[182] As appears from Martial's use of the name Dindymus, cf. H.P. Obermayer, *Martial und der Diskurs über mannliche "Homosexualität" in der Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen, 1998) 69–73.

[183] Mart. 2.86.5: *mollem debilitate galliambon*, tr. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb; see also Quint. 9.4.6.

[184] For this background see most recently K. Shipton, "The 'Attis' of Catullus," *CQ* 87 (1987) 444–49 and, if hardly advancing our knowledge of this aspect, E. Lefèvre, "Alexandrinisches und Catullisches im Attis-Gedicht (c. 63)," *RhM* 141 (1998) 308–28.

[185] Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address*, 80 note 9.

the poet presents himself, rather tongue in cheek,[186] as a worshipper of the goddess, but as one who would rather do without the most characteristic quality of a follower of the goddess, that is, the loss of his manhood. Catullus, then, had his cake and ate it. He praised the powers of the goddess but wisely wanted to keep her as far away from himself as possible. Is that not the best attitude for any male student of Kybele and, especially, Attis?[187]

[186] The humorous side of the poem is stressed (exaggerated?) by N. Holzberg, *Catull. Der Dichter und sein erotisches Werk* (Munich, 2002) 126–32.

[187] For comments and corrections of my English I am most grateful to Jitse Dijkstra, Stephen Harrison, Theo van den Hout, Ruurd Nauta and, especially, Nicholas Horsfall.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE MYTH OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE

One of the best known Greek myths is that of Jason and his Argonauts, who sailed to Colchis to fetch the Golden Fleece. The myth is already mentioned in the *Odyssey* as 'world famous' (12.70) and is a good illustration of both how the Greeks appropriated oriental motifs and the roads along which these motifs reached them. It also well illustrates some of the problems that a student encounters during his investigation into relationships between Greece and the Orient, and the kind of questions that still remain. Subsequently, we will look at the events leading up to the sacrifice of the ram with the golden fleece (§ 1); the Hittite background of the Fleece (§ 2); the connection of the Fleece with the aegis of Zeus and Athena (§ 3), the killing of the dragon (§ 4), and the escape of Jason with Medea's help (§ 5). We conclude with a study of the routes along which the myth of the Golden Fleece reached Greece (§ 6).

1. *The sacrifice of the ram with the golden fleece*

Let us start with a classic description of the first part of the myth, as told by the mythographer we usually call Apollodorus.[1] His main source, directly or indirectly, must have been the enormously learned, but unfortunately lost work *On Gods* by the Athenian scholar Apollodorus (*ca.* 180–120 BC). This is clear from the fact that the Roman Hyginus (*Fab.* 2–4), who lived before Pseudo-Apollodorus, basically tells the same story. Both mythographers, then, went back to the same handbook, which must have made use of many plays and poems that are no longer available to us. Thus, via Apollodorus, however indirectly, we still have access to older stages of the myth of the Golden Fleece, amongst which Euripides' play *Phrixos A*, in particular, seems to have been an important source. So, what does he tell us?

[1] For Apollodorus see this volume, Chapter V, section 1.

> Of the sons of Aeolus, Athamas, who ruled over Boeotia, fathered a son Phrixus and a daughter Helle by Nephele. Subsequently, he married Ino, by whom he had Learchus and Melicertes. Ino plotted against the children of Nephele and persuaded the women to roast the wheat. They took the wheat and did so without the knowledge of the men. Having been sown with roasted wheat, the earth did not yield the yearly crops.[2] So Athamas sent to Delphi to inquire how to end the famine. But Ino persuaded the envoy to say that according to the oracle the sterility would cease if Phrixus were sacrificed to Zeus.[3] When Athamas heard that, he was forced by the inhabitants of the land to bring Phrixus to the altar. But Nephele caught him and her daughter and she gave them a ram with a golden fleece that she had received from Hermes, and borne through the sky by the ram they crossed land and sea. When they were over the sea lying between Sigeum and the Chersonese, Helle slipped into the deep, and the sea was called Hellespont after her because she had died there. Phrixus reached the Colchians, whose king was Aietes, son of Helios and Perseis, the brother of Circe and Pasiphae, the wife of Minos. He received him and gave him one of his daughters, Chalciope. Phrixus sacrificed the ram with the golden fleece to Zeus Phyxios, but its skin he gave to Aietes, who nailed it to an oak in a grove of Ares. Phrixus had the following children by Chalciope: Argus, Melas, Phrontis and Cytisorus (1.9.1, tr. J.G. Frazer, slightly adapted).

The myth of the Golden Fleece was popular all through antiquity, and there are many variants. We will, though, limit ourselves as much as possible to the older traditions, those going back to the pre-Hellenistic era.

The myth starts with the localisation of Athamas.[4] Strangely enough, the king did not have a fixed place. Whereas Apollodorus locates him in Boeotia, just like Euripides' *Phrixos B*,[5] the latter's *Phrixos A* makes him 'king of the Thessalians'.[6] Thessaly is also connected with Athamas

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[2] Ino's ruse occurred almost certainly in Euripides' *Phrixos A* and *B*, cf. the *hypothesis* to *Phrixos A* fr. 820a, 822b and 828; note also Accius, *Athamas* fr. 2.

[3] According to Hyg. *Fab.* 2, there was only one envoy.

[4] The Boeotian king Athamas was connected to several myths, which were a popular subject of both tragedies and comedies, but we will study only the episodes that are most relevant to the motif of the Golden Fleece, cf. Aesch. *Athamas* F 1–4a; Soph. *Athamas* fr. 1–10 and *Phrixos* fr. 721–3; Eur. *Ino* fr. 398–423, *Phrixos A and B* fr. 818c–38; Xenocles *TGrF* 33 F 1; Astydamas *TGrF* 60 F 1; Antiphanes fr. 17; Amphis fr. 1; *TGrF* Adespota fr. 1; C. Schwanzas, "Athamas," in *LIMC* II.1 (1984) 950–53; T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore and London, 1993) 176–80.

[5] Note also Hell. *FGrH* 4 F 126 = F 126 Fowler; AR 2.1153, 3.266; Paus. 1.44.7, 9.34.5.

[6] Note also Eur. fr. 822a.

in Herodotus (7.197.3),[7] and this seems to be the older tradition, the more so since there were people called Athamanes in Northern Greece.[8] In both cases, though, the myth was tied to a sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios, 'Devourer', and it seems reasonable to suspect that the grisly character of this Zeus, whose name suggests cannibalism, has to be connected with this myth of a failed human sacrifice. It is probably significant that the place where Oedipus had murdered his father was called Laphystion.[9]

Like many a Greek male, Athamas had married for a second time, and his new wife tried to get rid of her stepchildren, Phrixus and Helle. It is typical of Greek mythology that the name of the king is always fixed, but that the names of his wives vary.[10] This is also the case in this myth. Athamas' new wife's name is Ino in Euripides,[11] but Demodike in Pindar (fr. 49), Themisto in Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 98 = F 98 Fowler) and Euripides (Hyg. *Fab*. 2), Nephele in Sophocles,[12] and Gorgopis in the famous Sophist Hippias of Elis (*FGrH* 6 F 11). Hostility towards stepchildren is also a familiar motif in Greek mythology and as popular a theme in tragedies, as it is in modern fairy tales.[13] In Apollodorus' version, the hostility does not carry erotic overtones which, given the normally considerable age difference in Greece between husband and wife, could also be the case, as the stepmother must have often been of more or less the same age as her stepson. However, later versions do.[14] They employ the motif of the 'desperate housewife', which in Greek literature is found first in the *Iliad*, where the hero Bellerophon rejected the overtures of the wife of King Proitos, who had given him asylum. She denounced him before her husband, who sent him to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, with a letter containing 'many life-destroying things' (*Il.* VI.152–210). Homer's version of the myth contains two motifs which most likely derive from the Near East, since both occur in the Old Testament: the Potiphar episode from the story of Joseph (*Genesis* 39) and the fateful letter David sent to his chief-of-staff to get rid of

[7] Note also AR 2.514 with scholion; Strabo 9.5.8; *Et. Gen.* α 130, 529 (Halos).
[8] Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 119; Achaeus *TGrF* 20 F 38; Lucr. 3.188; E. Oberhummer, "Athamania" and "Ἀθαμάντιον πεδίον," in *RE* 2 (1896) 1928f.
[9] Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 8.
[10] Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1988[2]) 45.
[11] Eur., *Phrixos A*, *B*; A. Nercassian, "Ino," in *LIMC* V.1 (1990) 858–61 at 659.
[12] Soph. fr. 4a; M. Pipili, "Nephele II," in *LIMC* V.1 (1992) 782f.
[13] P. Watson, *Ancient Stepmothers* (Leiden, 1995) 20–49.
[14] Hyg. *Astr*. 2.20; schol. Pind. *P*. 4.288a.

Uriah the Hittite, the man whose wife, Bathsheba, he wanted to marry (2 *Samuel* 11–2).[15] We do not know how Homer found these motifs, but it is notable that precisely the hero that is connected to a cluster of oriental motifs also rides a horse, Pegasus, whose name recalls the Luwian weather-god Pihaššašši.[16]

In the case of Ino, we do not hear any particulars about the relationship. Yet it is interesting to note that we have here a sex-segregated society, as Ino is able to talk to the Thessalian women without the presence of men.[17] The motif is clearly old and indeed already present in Euripides (*Phrixos A*).[18] One could think of a festival like the Thesmophoria, which the men were prohibited from attending, as the occasion of the conspiracy. The effect of Ino's scheming was a dearth, an effect already mentioned by Euripides (*Phrixos A*). Hyginus (*Fab*. 2) also mentions a *pestilentia*, and indeed, hunger and epidemics, *limos* and *loimos* in Greek, went hand in hand in antiquity.[19] Like a good king—one remembers Oedipus—Athamas sent an envoy to Delphi, who came back with the message that the king had to sacrifice his son Phrixus in order to end the dearth.

The message from Delphi presupposes that the king had committed a grave fault against the gods, which had to be punished. And indeed, several notices inform us that in case of famine the king was considered to be the real culprit. After the Edonian king Lycurgus had killed his son, the land remained barren. When Apollo declared that the land would bear fruit if the king was put to death, the Edonians had him killed by wild horses (Apollod. 3.5.1). And Plutarch (*M*. 297bc) tells that the Ainianes, a tribe in the North of Greece, had killed their king by stoning when there was a great drought. In fact, an old tradition also speaks of a sacrifice of Athamas himself as a purification of the land, presumably because of a drought or a plague, a tradition used by Sophocles in his

[15] P. Frei, "Die Bellerophontessage und das Alte Testament," in B. Janowski *et al.* (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1993) 39–65.

[16] M. Hutter, "Der luwische Wettergott pihaššašši und der griechische Pegasos," in M. Ofitsch and C. Zinko (eds.), *Studia Onomastica et Indogermanica* (Graz, 1995) 79–97.

[17] L. Gernet, *Polyvalence des images. Testi e frammenti sulla leggenda greca*, ed. A. Soldani (Pisa, 2004) 129–35.

[18] For such meetings of women being typical for a more archaic milieu see L. Gernet and A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion* (Paris, 1970[2]) 51f.

[19] See this volume, Chapter X, note 35.

tragedy *Athamas*.[20] There is an interesting parallel in the Old Testament. When there was a famine in the time of King David, the Lord explained that it was caused because the previous king, Saul, had slain the Gibeonites. David got the clue and executed all the sons of Saul that were left, except for Jonathan's son Mephiboseth, who was lame and therefore not a potential rival to the throne.[21] The parallel shows an important problem in the study of the relationships between Greece and the Orient. Did Greece take over the theme of the king's responsibility for the land from the Orient? That is unlikely, since similar ideas are well attested in Indo-European and other traditions.[22] Similarity, then, does not always mean borrowing, but can also be caused by, as in this case, the existence of a comparable royal ideology.

In our case, the oracle asked for the death of the son, and in later versions even for the death of both Phrixus and Helle.[23] The recipient of the sacrifice is also specified, namely Zeus. This is not always the case with a human sacrifice, as it is not unusual that the asking or receiving gods are anonymous, but, like other Greek divinities, such as Artemis and Dionysos, even Zeus was regularly associated with human sacrifice, however surprising this may be.[24] Phrixus knew his role and Hyginus tells that "he voluntarily and willingly promised that he would free the community all alone from the calamity".[25] Now the nexus calamity-oracle-royal youth-voluntary death-end of calamity is well known in Greek mythology. The many studies dedicated to this phenomenon have demonstrated that we

[20] Hdt. 7.197.3; Soph. fr. 1–10; Ar. *Nub*. 257 with scholion, cf. S. Byl, "Pourquoi Athamas est-il cité au vers 257 des Nuées d'Aristophane? ou de l'utilité des scholies," *Les Etudes Classiques* 55 (1987) 333–36.

[21] 2 *Samuel* 19.26 (lame), 21.1–14 (execution).

[22] Bremmer, "Medon, the Case of the Bodily Blemished King," in *Perennitas*. *Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980) 68–76 at 74–76.

[23] Philosteph. *FHG* 3 F 37; Ov. *F*. 3.861; Zen. 4.38.21–2; schol. Aesch. *Pers*. 70a; schol. Ar. *Nub*. 257; Eust. on *Il*. VII.86; Apost. 58.21–2.

[24] For interesting observations on the gods and heroes of Greek human sacrifice see H.S. Versnel, "Self-Sacrifice, Compensation, Anonymous Gods," in *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (1981) 135–94 at 171–79; S. Georgoudi, "À propos du sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne: remarques critiques," *Arch. f. Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999) 61–82.

[25] Hyg. *Fab*. 2: *Phrixus ultro ac libens pollicetur se unum civitatem aerumna liberaturum*. The motif already occurs in Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 98 = F 98 Fowler and, probably, Euripides, *Phrixos B*, cf. F. Jouan and H. van Looy, *Euripide, Tragédies* VIII.3 (Paris, 2002) 354, from which it may well be derived, as the motif of voluntary self-sacrifice is typically Euripidean (see below note 28).

encounter in those cases the influence of the scapegoat ritual, and that is also clearly the case with Phrixus.[26]

At an early stage, the scapegoat ritual must have influenced the ideas about the king or his family being responsible for the well-being of the community.[27] This is clearly also the case in the myth of the Golden Fleece: the victim is a youth, Phrixus, who voluntarily goes to the altar (above). Voluntariness of a victim was an important part of Greek sacrificial ideology and is often stressed in Greek scapegoat rituals.[28] Yet the sacrifice of Phrixus was not accepted, even though an Apulian volute crater of about 340 BC shows Athamas already brandishing the sacrificial knife.[29] It is that highly dramatic moment that a father personally has to sacrifice his own child, just as Agamemnon had to sacrifice Iphigeneia and, in *Genesis* 22, Abraham his son Isaac.[30] And at that dramatic moment Phrixus' mother Nephele substituted a ram for him, whose golden fleece Hesiod already mentioned and which is standard in fifth-century versions of the myth.[31] Such a substitution was not totally uncommon in Greek mythology, as Artemis had substituted a deer for Iphigeneia.[32] One is of course also reminded of the ram that was given as a substitute for the sacrifice of Isaac, which seems to be another example of an independent parallel.[33]

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[26] The connection with the scapegoat ritual is also noted by W. Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 1996) 117.

[27] As is persuasively argued in his discussion of the scapegoat ritual by R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 258–80 at 259.

[28] See this volume, Chapter X, section 3.2.

[29] Ph. Bruneau, "Phrixos et Helle," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 398–404 at no. 1; L. Giuliani, *Tragik, Trauer und Trost. Bildervasen für eine apulische Totenfeier* (Berlin, 1995) 26–31, 88–94; idem and G. Most, "Medea in Eleusis, in Princeton," in C. Kraus *et al*. (eds.), *Visualizing the Tragic* (Oxford, 2007) 196–217 at 208–11.

[30] Agamemnon: Aesch. *Ag.* 209–11, 224–5, 228–46; Eur. *IT* 360, 565; *TGrF* Adesp. fr. 73 (*?*); Varro frr. 94–5, cf. J.P. Cèbe, *Varron. Satires Ménippées* 3 (Rome, 1975) 453–4; Lucr. 1.99; Cic. *Off.* 3.95; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.199–200, 206; Hyg. *Fab.* 98; Apollod. *Ep*. 3.22. Isaac: see most recently V. Sussman, "The Binding of Isaac as Depicted on a Samaritan Lamp," *Israel Expl. J.* 48 (1998) 183–9; E. Kessler, "Art leading the story: the *'Aqedah* in early synagogue art," in L.I. Levine and Z. Weiss (eds.), *From Dura to Sepphoris: studies in Jewish art and society in Late Antiquity* (Portsmouth RI, 2000) 73–81.

[31] Hes. fr. 68; Pind. *P* 4.68, 231; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 99 = F 99 Fowler; Eur. *Med.* 5, *Hyps*. fr. 752f.22–3.

[32] For Iphigeneia see Bremmer, "Sacrificing a Child in Ancient Greece: the case of Iphigeneia," in E. Noort and E.J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (Leiden, 2001) 21–43; G. Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigeneia? On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron," *Kernos* 16 (2003) 59–118.

[33] For analyses of this famous sacrifice see most recently L. Kundert, *Die Opferung/Bindung Isaaks*, 2 vols (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1998); Noort and Tigchelaar, *The Sacrifice of*

Whereas the substitute animals were immediately sacrificed in the cases of Iphigeneia and Isaac, the ram with the golden fleece carried Phrixus and Helle through the sky to Colchis. Such flying rams soon became unacceptable to the Greeks, and the fourth-century, rationalizing mythographer Palaephatus (30) already introduced a high official called Ram, who equipped a boat for Phrixus and Helle to bring them to Colchis. In the course of the flight Helle fell from the ram and drowned in the water ever since called Hellespont.[34] The name is already found in Homer (*Il.* II.845 etc.), and probably was given first to the North Aegean and Propontis before the advancing Greeks gave the name to the present Hellespont.[35]

On arrival in Colchis, Phrixus sacrificed the ram to Zeus Phyxios, 'Of escape'.[36] This particular Zeus also was the recipient of a sacrifice by Deukalion after the Flood and seems to have been at home in Thessaly.[37] The fleece he gave to King Aietes, who in turn gave his daughter Chalciope to Phrixus as wife.[38] This type of marriage is still typical of archaic times: the outsider is incorporated into the king's retinue by marrying the king's daughter. The same happened to Bellerophon (*Il.* VI.192) and Tydeus (*Il.* VI.121),[39] just as Alcinous tried to keep Odysseus by offering him a daughter (*Od.* 7.313);[40] in the Old Testament Saul offers his daughters Merab and Michal to David to keep him in his retinue (1 *Samuel* 18). The already mentioned Palaephatus (30) made fun of this special treatment of the skin and noted: "Observe how rare hides were in those days, for a king to accept a fleece as dowry for his own daughter" (tr. Stern). The Golden Fleece had clearly lost its fascination in Palaephatus' time!

Isaac; E. Kessler, *Bound by the Bible: Jews, Christians and the Sacrifice of Isaac* (Cambridge, 2004).

[34] Bruneau, "Phrixos et Helle," no. 27–44 (from about 390 BC onwards).

[35] Hdt. 6.33; Strabo 7 fr. 22; H. Hoenigswald, "*Hellêspontos*," in J. Penney (ed.), *Indo-European Perspectives. Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo-Davies* (Oxford, 2004) 179.

[36] AR 2.1147, 4.119; Apollod. 1.9.1; schol. Hes. *Th.* 993a; Schol. Pind. *P.* 4.431, *O.* 9.65; schol. Aratus 225; Eust. on *Il.* VII.86; Bruneau, "Phrixos et Helle," no. 45–6, 51 (from second quarter of fifth century BC onwards).

[37] Apollod. 1.9.1; Schol. AR 2.1147 (Thessalian); schol. Aratus 225; Eust. on *Il.* I.10; this volume, Chapter VI, section 2.

[38] Palaephatus 30; Eratosthenes 19; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.20. For a possible reflection of Phrixus on local coinage see J. Hind, "The Types on the Phasian Silver Coins of the Fifth-Fourth Centuries BC (The 'Kolkhidhi' of Western Georgia)," *Num. Chron.* 165 (2005) 1–14.

[39] For Tydeus see also Pherecydes F 122b Fowler; Eur. fr. 558; Apollod. 1.8.5.

[40] É. Scheid-Tissinier, *Les usages du don chez Homère* (Nancy, 1994) 110–14; note also Eur. fr. 72 (Alcmaeon).

2. *The Hittite background*

Originally, Phrixus' arrival in Colchis may well have concluded the myth of his sacrifice and escape, as we hear no more about him. Yet this was not the opinion of the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical Age, as one of the most popular Greek myths, that of Jason and the Argonauts, relates the recovery of the Golden Fleece by Jason. The connection between the two parts of the myth of the Golden Fleece looks somewhat artificial, and one cannot escape the impression that originally both parts had been separate. However this may be, Jason's great adventure begins with an oracle to Pelias, king of Iolkos, that he would be killed by a man wearing only one sandal. The prediction became reality when Jason, having lost one of his sandals after crossing the river Anauros, came to a sacrificial feast of Pelias.[41] To pre-empt a possible rival, he sent Jason to fetch the Golden Fleece from King Aietes of Aia in Colchis. Jason built a ship of fifty oars, a so-called penteconter,[42] and set off with 50 young men, the famous Argonauts.[43] The one sandal,[44] the group of 50,[45] the young age of the crew,[46] the presence of maternal uncles,[47] the test and the return to become king: everything points to an initiatory background of the Argonautic expedition.[48] Yet such an interpretation does not explain the Golden Fleece. So, what was its nature?

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[41] The oracle is a standard part of the myth: Pind. *P*. 4.78 with scholion; AR 1.5–7; Hyg. *Fab*. 12–3; Val. Flacc. 1.207–26; Apollod. 1.9.16; *Orph. Arg*. 56–7; Servius on Verg. *Ecl*. 4.34; schol. Lycophron 1,175.

[42] Eur. *Hyps*. fr. 752f.21, cf. Bremmer, "Oorsprong, functie en verval van de pentekonter," *Utrechtse Historische Cahiers* 11 (1989) 1–11.

[43] For the various lists of Argonauts see the tables in P. Scarpi, *Apollodoro, I miti Greci* (Milano, 1996) 678–80; add Val. Flacc. 1.352–488; *POxy*. 60.4097, re-edited by M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden, 1997) no. 61; B. Scherer, *Mythos, Katalog und Prophezeiung. Studien zu den* Argonautika *des Apollonios Rhodios* (Stuttgart, 2006) 49–56. For the Argo on coinage of Iolkos see K. Liampi, "Iolkos and Pagasai: Two New Thessalian Mints," *Num. Chron*. 165 (2005) 23–40 at 24–30.

[44] The best discussion is now P. Grossardt, *Die Erzählung von Meleagros* (Leiden, 2001) 14–5; add Eur. *Hyps*. fr. 752f.38; M. Robertson, "Monocrepis," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 39–48; L. Edmunds, "Thucydides on Monosandalism (3.22.2)," in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday* (Durham NC, 1984) 71–75; J. Neils, "Iason," in *LIMC* V.1 (1990) 629–38 at no. 2–4.

[45] Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," *The Bucknell Review* 43 (1999) 183–200 at 189.

[46] A. Moreau, *Le mythe de Jason et Médée* (Paris, 1994) 120.

[47] F. Graf, "Orpheus: A Poet Among Men," in Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, 80–106 at 97; Moreau, *Le mythe de Jason et Médée*, 121.

[48] Graf, "Orpheus," 97f.

The earliest, fullest accounts of the second sequence of the myth are given by Pindar and Apollonius of Rhodes, whom we will take as our guides. However, they are not the oldest sources, and we sometimes have to supply them with older authors and iconographic representations. After Jason had arrived in Colchis, he went to the palace of King Aietes. The king was the son of Helios and clearly derived his name, 'the man from Aia', from the island of Aia, where Helios rises each day.[49] This connection of Aia with the sun must be a Hittite heritage, as Aia is the name of the wife of the Sun in Hittite and Mesopotamian religion.[50] However, the land of the sun was located in Colchis, modern Georgia, only after Homer, when the Greeks had reached their most eastern frontier.

Although the sheepskin is known as the Golden Fleece, some of the oldest sources describe the Fleece as being purple.[51] Initially, apparently, its precious value was more important than its exact colour.[52] It is also interesting to note that the sources vary as to where exactly the Fleece was to be found. Our oldest literary sources situate it in the palace of King Aietes,[53] which brings the Fleece closer to the Greek mainland traditions (below). In the later standard tradition the Fleece was nailed to an oak in the temple grounds or grove of Ares,[54] which brings the Fleece closer to its ritual background (below), even though it is sometimes on the top of a rock on vases.[55]

In antiquity, the golden nature of the Fleece was explained in a rationalizing manner by the Colchian custom of collecting gold from streams via sheepskins with a shaggy fleece,[56] whereas modern scholars have explained

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[49] Aietes' father: Hes. *Th*. 957; Eumelos fr. 2 D = 3 B; Pind. *P*. 4. 242; Eur. *Med*. 746–7; Ov. *Met*. 7.96. Aia: *Od*. 12.4; Mimnermus fr. 11A; A. Lesky, *Kleine Schriften* (Berne, 1966) 26–62.

[50] E. Ebeling and E. Forrer, "A.A," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932) 1–2; E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites* (Paris, 1947) 119.

[51] Simonides *PMG* 576; Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 37 = F 37 Fowler; Macr. *Sat*. 3.7.2 (Etruscan version, below).

[52] For the high esteem of purple in Archaic Greece see M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels, 1970) 16f.

[53] Hes. (?) fr. 299; *Carmen Naupacticum* fr. 8 D/B.

[54] AR 4.123–82; Hyg. *Fab*. 3, *Astr*. 2.20; Apollod. 1.9.1; Servius on Verg. *G*. 2.140; schol. Pind. *P*. 4.431; schol. Arat. 348. The oak is already mentioned by Eur. *Hyps*. fr. 752f.23.

[55] Neils, "Iason," no. 36f.

[56] *TGrF* Adespota fr. 37a; Strabo 11.2.19; Appian, *Mithr*. 103, cf. O. Lordkipanidze, "The Golden Fleece: Myth, Euhemeristic Explanation and Archaeology," *Oxford J. Arch*. 20 (2001) 1–38.

the Fleece by rain magic, the search for amber or the cosmic tree.[57] It is only from the middle 1970s onwards that scholars have started to connect the Fleece with a Hittite cult object, the so-called *kurša*.[58] However, the connection has not been completely thought through yet, and a systematic investigation can still make some progress.

What was this *kurša*? Previously, scholars translated the term with both 'shield' and 'fleece',[59] but the first meaning has more recently been dropped in favour of the second one, after its representations were identified in 1989.[60] In fact, the *kurša* was a fleece in the shape of a bag,[61] which could be made of the skins of at least three different animals: oxen,[62] sheep and goats. As the first one is less usual and does not play a role in Greek mythology, we will limit ourselves to giving one example of each of the latter two. In the Old Hittite myth of Telipinu, we read that after his return

> Telipinu took account of the king. Before Telipinu there stands an *eyan*-tree (or pole). From the *eyan* is suspended a hunting bag (made from the skin) of a sheep. In (the bag) lies Sheep Fat. In it lie (symbols) of Animal

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[57] For a survey of earlier, unpersuasive explanations and his own unpersuasive explanation, see H. Wagenvoort, "La Toison d'Or," in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, 3 vols (Paris, 1966) III.1667–78.

[58] V. Haas, "Jasons Raub des goldenen Vliesses im Lichte hethitischer Quellen," *Ugaritische Forsch.* 7 (1975) 227–33 and "Medea und Jason im Lichte hethitischer Quellen," *Acta Antiqua* 26 (1978) 241–53; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (Warsaw, 1978) 114; Burkert, *Structure and History*, 10; S.P. Morris, "The Prehistoric Background of Artemis Ephesia: A Solution to the Enigma of her 'Breasts'?," in U. Mus (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna, 2001) 136–51 at 140–48 and "Potnia Aswiya: Anatolian Contributions to Greek Religion," in R. Laffineur and R. Hägg (eds.), *Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Liège, 2001) 423–34 at 431–2 (I had overlooked both studies by Morris in the first version of this chapter).

[59] For the translation 'shield' see still H. Otten, "*Kurša*," in *Reallex. Assyriologie* VI (1980–83) 372; H.A. Hoffner, Jr. (ed.), *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Chicago, 1997) 107 (1964[1]).

[60] Hoffner, Jr., *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, 137–45.

[61] For the most recent discussions see M. Popko, "Anatolische Schutzgottheiten in Gestalt von Vliesen," *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974) 309–11, "Zum hethitischen $^{(KUŠ)}$*kurša*," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2 (1975) 65–70; *Kultobjekte*, 108–20 and "Anikonische Götterdarstellungen in der altanatolischen Religion," in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (Louvain, 1993) 323–24; G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities* (Chicago, 1991) 250–54; V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, 1994) 454–59; J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 4 (Berlin and New York, 1997) 270–75; H. Gonnet, "Un rhyton en forme de *kurša* hittite," in S. de Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi (eds.), *Anatolica Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, 2 vols (Florence, 2002) I.321–27.

[62] *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 13.179, 22.168.

> fecundity and of Wine. In it lie (symbols of) Cattle and Sheep. In it lie Longevity and Progeny. In it lies The Gentle Message of the Lamb. In it lie…and…In it lies…In it lies The Right Shank. In it lie Plenty, Abundance, and Satiety.[63]

In addition to sheepskins, goat skins were used. In a somewhat later fragment we read:

> [T]hey drive in one billy goat and then wash it. They sweep and then sprinkle the buildings of the palace into which they drive it. The dog-men kill the goat in the same way. […] to no one [(they? x. They give] the hide to the leatherworkers. [Fro]m (it) [the leatherworkers mak]e the [new] hunting bags.[64]

A sheep *kurša*, then, is esentially a hide with wool, but in the case of goats it is also "specified as 'rough, shaggy' (*warhui-*),[65] i.e. a fleece with the long curling hair of an angora (= Turkish *Ankara*) goat still on it. The bag has a strap handle by which it can be hung on a peg, with the contents accessible".[66] Now the *kurša* could be hung on the *eyan*-tree, which was most likely a kind of oak but possibly a yew.[67] It could also be hung in a special building, 'the house of the hunting bags', probably a (room in a) temple, where it had a special place: 'the place of the god'.[68] In one case, it is worshipped in the temple of the war god Zababa,[69] what may have given rise to its being hung in the temple of Ares, but other buildings are also mentioned, and the place of the *kurša* clearly depended on local circumstances.[70]

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[63] *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* XVII.10 iv 27–35, tr. H.A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990) 17; for the Hittite text, with translation and explanatory notes, see J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) 137–9; without notes, V. Haas, *Materia Magica et Medica Hethitica* (Berlin and New York, 2003) II.772f. For another example of a *kurša* made of sheep skin see *Catalogue des textes hittites* 336; for the skin of a lamb, Haas, *Geschichte*, 719.

[64] *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* XXII.168, tr. McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, 165f. For a *kurša* made from a goat skin see also *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* VII.36, XXV.31 obv. 11–13, XXX.32 I 9–10, LV.43.

[65] For the term see now N. Oettinger, "Hethitisch *warhuizna-* 'Wald, heiliger Hain' und *tiyessar* 'Baumpflanzung' (mit einer Bemerkung zu dt. *Wald*, engl. *wold*)," in P. Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica* (Warsaw, 2002) 253–60.

[66] C. Watkins, "A Distant Anatolian Echo in Pindar: The Origin of the Aegis Again," *HSCP* 100 (2000) 1–14 at 2.

[67] Oak: Haas, "Medea und Jason," 247. Yew: Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 1.2, 253–57.

[68] McMahon, *Hittite State Cult*, 183 (special place), 264–67.

[69] *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* X.2 I 14.

[70] Popko, *Kultobjekte*, 110.

Telipinu's *kurša* functioned as a kind of cornucopia filled with all kinds of material and immaterial good things, but the *kurša* could also function as the symbol of a deity and be worshipped as such. This was in particular the case with the god Zitharija of Hattusa, who, originally, was a Hattic deity.[71] The *kurša* was even taken along during war expeditions,[72] and one is reminded of the Israelites bringing along the Ark of the Covenant for their fight against the Philistines (1 *Samuel* 4–6). In a cult inventory text, it is related that Zithariya's hunting bag carried an image of a sundisk of gold, which is, perhaps, one of the reasons why the Golden Fleece was so closely associated with the sun.[73] In later times, the *kurša* became the attribute of a divinity rather than being the divinity itself.[74]

Leather bags naturally wear away, and it is therefore understandable that they were regularly renewed. This happened in particular during the Hittite Purulli festival, a kind of spring New Year festival, when the old bags were burned and new ones prepared.[75] Naturally, with the demise of the Hittite states the *kurša* must have gradually lost its significance. Yet such powerful symbols are perhaps re-interpreted rather than totally abolished, and Herodotus relates that there was a bag (*askos*) hanging in Phrygian Kelainai, which he understandably interpreted as the skin of Marsyas,[76] but which more likely was a latter-day *kurša*.

3. *The* kurša *and the aegis*

Having looked in some detail at the *kurša*, we can now see that the sheepskin and the goatskin both developed in different but also converging directions. In a brilliant article, Calvert Watkins has recently argued that the aegis of Athena derives from our *kurša*.[77] Herodotus' (4.189.2) description of the tasseled goatskins worn by Libyan women shows that,

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[71] His close association with the *kurša* is just one of the indications of its Hattic origin.

[72] K. Balkan, *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletleri* (Istanbul, 1948) 14 (+) V 12 ff.

[73] *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* XXXVIII.35 I 1–5, ed. L. Jakob-Rost, *Mitt. Inst. Orientforschung* 9 (1963) 195f.

[74] Popko, *Kultobjekte*, 113, who compares *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* XX.107 + XXIII.50 II 25ff.

[75] Popko, *Kultobjekte*, 114.

[76] Hdt. 7.26; Xen. *An*. 1.2.8; Popko, "Anatolische Schutzgottheiten," 70. For Marsyas see I. Weiler, *Der Agon im Mythos* (Darmstadt, 1974) 37–59; A. Weis, "Marsyas I," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 366–78.

[77] Watkins, "Distant Anatolian echo'.

according to the Greeks, the aegis was a goatskin, even though in mythology Athena's aegis could be the skin of the Gorgo, Pallas, Asteros or a monster called Aegis—evidently a rather late rationalizing explanation.[78] The aegis was imagined in different ways. Sometimes it is clearly represented as a shield with a shaggy fringe,[79] which representation must have been at the basis of the Spartans calling their armour 'aegis'.[80] It is highly interesting that this interpretation coincides with modern interpretations of the *kurša* as 'shield'. This must mean that the Greek poets had learned about the *kurša* via texts or oral presentations, not from seeing the real thing. Yet the aegis could also be imagined as a kind of woolen bag or net,[81] containing allegorical entities (*Il.* V.738–42), as is the case with the *kurša* of Telipinu (above).[82] In the case of Zeus, his aegis was made of the skin of the goat Amaltheia,[83] but this goat was also the owner of a 'horn of plenty'![84]

As Greek imagination could develop the goatskin of the *kurša* into a real goat, Amaltheia, it is not surprising that also the sheepskin could develop into a real sheep, be it a ram or a lamb. This is the case in the myth of Atreus and Thyestes, which was already related in an ancient epic, the *Alcmaeonis* (fr. 5 D = 6 B), and thus reaches back to the Archaic Age. Although the relevant tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides are almost totally lost,[85] it is clear from the more detailed story that emerges in the fifth century[86] that both Atreus and Thyestes claimed their right to the throne on the basis of the possession of the golden lamb. In other

[78] Gorgo: Eur. *Ion*, 995; Verg. *Aen*. 2.616, 8.438; Luc. 9.658. Pallas: Epicharmus fr. 135; Cic. *ND* 3.59; Apollod. 1.6.2; Clem. Alex. *Pr*. 2.28.2; Firm. Mat. *Err*. 16.2; schol. Lycophron 355; A. Henrichs, "Philodems 'De pietate' als mythographische Quelle," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 5 (1975) 5–38 at 29–34. Asteros: *Meropis*, cf. A. Henrichs, "Zur Meropis: Herakles' Löwenfell und Athenas zweite Haut," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 69–75. Aegis: Dion. Scythobr. *FGrH* 32 F 8 = fr. 9 Rusten.

[79] *Il.* XV.306–10, with the excellent discussion by Janko, although he wrongly explains Zeus' aegis as a 'thunderbolt'.

[80] Nymphodorus *FGrH* 577 F 15, cf. Paus. Att. α 40.

[81] Lycurgus fr. 24; Harpocration s.v. *aigidas*; Ael. Dion. α 48; Paus. Att. α 40; Suda α 60.

[82] See also Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 180–1: a comparison of Telipinu's *kurša* with Athena's aegis.

[83] *POxy*. 42.3003, re-edited by Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?*, no. 52; schol. *Il*. XV.299, 318.

[84] Bremmer, "Amaltheia," in *Der Neue Pauly* I (1996) 568–9.

[85] Soph. fr. 140–1 (*Atreus*), 247–69 (*Thyestes*); Eur. fr. 391–97b (*Thyestes*).

[86] Eur. *El*. 725–6, *Or*. 812–3, 997–1000 with scholion; Apollod. *Ep*. 2.10–11.

words, the Golden Fleece served as a royal talisman,[87] as a *regni stabilimen*,[88] that was connected with the prosperity of the people. Interestingly, the motif of the ram as royal talisman occurs in the seventh-century Persian *Artachšir i Pâpakân* too, which suggests that the motif had also travelled eastwards, not only westwards.[89]

There probably is a further testimony to the Anatolian connection. Macrobius quotes the following sign from an Etruscan book, the *Ostentarium Tuscum*, that had been translated into Latin by the, probably, first-century BC Roman scholar Tarquitius:[90]

> a sheep or a ram sprinkled with purple or golden markings presages for the leader of a class and of a race the greatest prosperity and an access of wealth; the race prolongs its generations in splendor and brings them greater happiness (*Sat.* 3.7.2, tr. P.V. Davies).

In other words, for the Etruscans, the appearance of a purple or golden ram promised prosperity and progeny for the ruler and his land,[91] which comes rather close to the *kurša* of Telipinu. Now the question of the Etruscan homeland has long been a hot item in classical scholarship. Recently, my compatriot Rob Beekes has put forward a number of compelling arguments that the Etruscans came from North-West Anatolia,[92] not that far from the original area of the myth of the Tantalids. Once again, then, our evidence seems to point to Anatolia as the origin of the Greek lamb/ram with a golden fleece.

Clearly, the three qualities of the *kurša* (protector in battle, symbol of royalty and symbol of cornucopia) were all taken over by the Greeks in their imagination of the aegis.[93] Yet when the sheepskin had lost its initial religious meaning, its great value had to be re-established. That

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[87] Note also schol. *Il.* II.106; Gernet, *Polyvalence des images*, 49–52, 142–44.

[88] Accius, *Atreus* fr. 5, cf. Seneca, *Thy.* 230: *possessor huius regnat.*

[89] A. Krappe, "Atreus' Lamm," *RhM* 77 (1928) 182–4.

[90] E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford, 1991) 301; M. Haase, "Tarquitius [I 1]," in *Der Neue Pauly* 12/1 (2002) 34f.

[91] There may be a connection here with the rams and lambs being spontaneously dyed purple or saffron in Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue* (42–45, with Coleman). E.M. Irwin, "Colourful sheep in the golden age. Vergil, Eclogues 4.42–45," *EMC* 33 (1989) 23–37 is not helpful.

[92] R. Beekes, *The Origin of the Etruscans* (Amsterdam, 2003).

[93] The close connection of the aegis and the Golden Fleece was already seen by L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la grèce antique* (Paris, 1968) 119–30 (first published in 1948, when the value of Hittite evidence for ancient Greece only started to become understood); see also Gernet, *Polyvalence des images*, 152–55.

is probably why it was ascribed the quality of the precious commodities purple or gold.

There might even be another Oriental motif present in this myth as well. When Thyestes had produced the lamb, Zeus helped Atreus by suggesting that Atreus should stipulate that he should be king if the sun should go backward.[94] Is there in the background some connection with the story in *Joshua* (10.12–3) about the sun and the moon not moving until the Israelites had avenged themselves on the Amorites?

Now the myth of Atreus and Thyestes is part of the family myth of the Tantalids. Tantalus came from Sipylos in Lydia, and these myths must have been 'exported' by Aeolian bards in the early Archaic Age, probably via Lesbos.[95] In the myth of Tantalus' wooing of Oenomaos' daughter Hippodameia, we meet a charioteer called Myrtilos.[96] There can be little doubt that his name points to the Anatolian *hinterland* of Sipylos, given the existence of Hittite kings called Muršili;[97] in fact, during the reign of the Hittite king Mursilis II (ca. 1350–1320 BC) priests recommended to fetch the gods 'of Laspa' (= Lesbos).[98] Several indications, then, point to a connection between the Golden Fleece and Anatolia.[99]

4. *The killing of the dragon*

After Jason had passed two tests, he managed to steal the Golden Fleece with the help of Medea. The Fleece had been guarded by a

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[94] Soph. fr 738; Eur. *IT* 193–5 and 816, *Or* 1001–4 (with an interesting note by Willink on the effect of the myth on philosophical speculations), *El.* 699–746, *Thy.* fr. 397b; Pl. *Plt.* 269a; Polyb. 34.2.6 (= Strabo 1.2.15); Lucian, *De astrol.* 12; Apollod. *Ep.* 2.12.

[95] For Oenomaos being king of Lesbos see Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 350 (burial of Pelops' charioteer on Lesbos); schol. Eur. *Or.* 990; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* I (Berlin, 1920[4]) 208, 214f. Note also the mention of the Atreids in Alcaeus, fr. 70.6.

[96] Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 37 = F 37 Fowler; Soph. *El.* 509; Eur. *Or.* 992, 1548; Pl. *Crat.* 395c; I. Triantis, "Myrtilos," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 693–6.

[97] For earlier examples of the name Mursilos (all on Lesbos!) see Alcaeus, fr. 70.7, 241, 302b (?), cf. G. Bastianini *et al.*, *Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta* I (Leipzig, 2004) 148–9, fr. 305a.19, 305b.8, inc. auct. 34, 8–10 Voigt, cf. Bastianini, *Commentaria*, 243, S 267 Page; schol. fr. 60, cf. Bastianini, *Commentaria*, 96; *POxy.* 35.2733, 12; Myrsilos *FGrH* 477 T 1; J.A.S. Evans, "'Candaules, whom the Greeks name Myrsilos…'," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 229–33. Note also Myrsilos as a name of a Lydian king: Hdt. 1.7.2.

[98] *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* V.6.57–64. For the special position of Lesbos see now K. and S. Tausend, "Lesbos—Zwischen Griechenland und Kleinasien," in R. Rollinger and B. Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante* (Stuttgart, 2006) 89–111.

[99] For a possible Oriental background of Atreus' name see M.L. West, "Atreus and Attarissiyas," *Glotta* 77 (2001) 262–66.

dragon, and Pindar specifies that it was "right by the ferocious jaws of a dragon", which was larger than the Argo itself.[100] The location is of course chosen for its dramatic possibilities, but it may also be an echo from an old tradition. Rather early Greek and Etruscan vases display a man emerging from the mouth of a serpent, most famously on a cup by Douris (ca. 480–470 BC) where we see Jason actually in the jaws of the dragon.[101] It is noteworthy that such pictures stop after the descriptions of Jason's fight against the dragon by Pindar and the tragedians. Apparently, a disgorged hero no longer was acceptable to the civilised Greeks of the fifth century.

But how did Jason manage to circumvent the dragon? According to our oldest descriptions, he slew the dragon, but Pindar adds *technais* ('with tricks').[102] The expression may well point to the role of Medea, who in part of our tradition charmed the dragon to sleep.[103] In Medea's first appearance in Greek literature in Hesiod, she is considered to be a goddess and depicted as the niece of the witch-like Circe and the daughter of Idyia ('the Knowledgeable One'), a fitting name for an expert in magic.[104] On the other hand, there is also Aphrodite whose presence in this part of the myth seems obligatory: in the late archaic *Carmen Naupacticum* (fr. 7[A] D = 6 B) she diverted Medea's parents so that Jason would return home safely; on the more or less contemporary Cypselus-chest, she was present at the marriage of Jason and Medea (Paus. 5.18.3), and in Pindar's fourth *Pythian Ode* she taught Jason "to be skilful in prayers and charms" (217) and made Medea fall in love with Jason (219).

Is this killing of the dragon by Jason with the help of a woman a free invention by a Greek mythmaker or did he take his inspiration from an Oriental source? The first possibility is not impossible. We have an excellent parallel in the myth of Theseus and Ariadne, where we find the same scheme: a young girl, who is the daughter of the king, helps the young stranger to defeat the monster, escapes with him and is later dropped.[105]

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[100] Pind. *P.* 4.245; Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 63bis = F 52A Fowler.

[101] Neils, "Jason," no's 30–32.

[102] Pind. *P.* 4.249; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 31 = F 31 Fowler; Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 52 = F 52 Fowler.

[103] Antimachus frr. 73–74; AR 4.145–61; Ov. *Met.* 7.149–58; Val. Flacc. 8.68–120; Apollod. 1.9.23; Neils, "Jason," no's 37–48. According to Eur. *Med.* 480–82, Medea killed the dragon herself.

[104] Hes. *Th.* 956–61 (Circe), 992–1002 (goddess), cf. F. Graf, "Medea, the Enchantress from Afar," in J. Clauss and S. Johnston (eds.), *Medea* (Princeton, 1997) 21–43.

[105] For the older stages of this myth see C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire Athénien* (Lausanne, 1996[2]); *POxy.* 68.4640.

The scheme is widespread, as the Tarpeia myth illustrates, and there is no reason to deny its influence on the Golden Fleece myth.[106] Yet the difference from the normal pattern is Medea's supernatural status and the persistent presence of Aphrodite. This makes another possibility at least worth investigating.

In a stimulating article, the German Hittitologist Volkert Haas has compared this episode of the Golden Fleece myth with the Hittite myth of the dragon Illuyankaš,[107] which has come down to us in two versions, one with detailed names and the other with mainly anonymous protagonists.[108] In the first one, the monstre is lured from his lair by a meal and trussed with a rope by a mortal who was 'recruited' by the goddess Inara before being killed by the Storm-God.[109] We may at least wonder if Inara is not eventually behind Medea and/or Aphrodite.

In the other version, the Storm-God first loses parts of his body that are recovered before his final victory. Echoes of the latter version have been demonstrated in the Greek myth of the monstre Typhon, who took away Zeus' weapon and sinews before eventually being defeated by him.[110] Homer located the battle between Zeus and Typhon "among the Arimoi" (*Il.* II.783), which must be somewhere in Southern Anatolia,[111] but fifth-century authors already explicitly locate Typhon in Cilicia, even in a cave, and later Greek tradition located Typhon's cave even more precisely, in Cilician Corycus.[112] Here was a famous sanctuary of

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[106] For the scheme see J.N. Bremmer and N.M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London, 1987) 68–70 (by Horsfall); J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999) 245.

[107] Haas, "Medea und Jason". For the etymology of Illuyankaš see most recently J.T. Katz, "How to be a Dragon in Indo-European: Hittite *illuyankaš* and its Linguistic and Cultural Congeners in Latin, Greek, and Germanic," in J. Jasanoff *et al.* (eds.), *Mír Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins* (Innsbruck, 1998) 317–35.

[108] For texts and translations see Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 11; García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas*, 82f. Note also the illuminating juxtaposition of themes in Burkert, *Structure and History*, 8; for persuasive verbal parallels, C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (Oxford, 1995) 448–59.

[109] For Inara see A. Kammenhuber, "Inar," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* V (1980) 89–90; Haas, *Geschichte*, 436f.

[110] Apollod. 1.6.3, cf. Burkert, *Structure and History*, 9; A. Ballabriga, "Le dernier adversaire de Zeus: le mythe de Typhon dans l'épopée grecque archaïque," *RHR* 207 (1990) 3–30.

[111] Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, 450f.

[112] Cilicia: Pind. *P.* 1.17, 8.16; Aesch. *PV* 351; schol. Pind. *P.* 1.31 (cave); Lucan 3.226 (cave). Corycus: Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 33; Pomp. Mela 1.76; Curt. Ruf. 3.4.10; Apollod. 1.6.2; Nonnos, *D.* 1.258; Hoffner, Jr., *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, 41 (photos of cave).

Zeus, and the names of its priests, which have come down to us in a famous inscription, demonstrate that the local population contained a strong Luwian element.[113] Moreover, in the *Halieutica* (3.9–25) of the late second-century Oppian, who probably was an inhabitant of Corycus, we find a version of the Typhon myth that contains the motif of the meal. In other words, it links up with the first version of the Illuyankaš myth, whereas the versions of Apollodorus and Nonnus can be connected with the second version.[114] Both versions, then, seem to have been current in Anatolia at the same time, just like the older Hittite versions.[115] There remains the question why a Greek source combined the motif of the *kurša* with that of the defeat of Illuyankaš. The answer may well lie in the fact that both the *kurša* and the myth of Illuyankaš played an important role at the Hittite Purulli festival, the first as an important focus of the ritual (above), the latter as the myth of the festival.[116]

5. *The escape*

After Jason had managed to steal the Golden Fleece with the help of Medea, the couple escaped from Colchis with the Argonauts. But how did they do it? Our most detailed account from Greek sources is that of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*.[117] His description is brief, but, as we shall see, realistic:

Under the command of Medea's brother Apsyrtos, the angry Colchians immediately began to pursue them down the river Ister, and blocked off virtually every exit to the sea, except for two islands, which were sacred to Artemis. Here the Argonauts sought refuge. Negotiations were initiated, and it was agreed that Jason could keep the Fleece, but

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[113] Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961) 203–15; H.C. Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians* (Leiden, 2003) 101–04 (by T.R. Bryce).

[114] This important insight by Houwink ten Cate, *Luwian Population Groups*, 209 has been overlooked in subsequent discussions.

[115] G. Beckman, "The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka," *J. Anc. Near Eastern Soc.* 14 (1982) 11–25 at 24.

[116] For texts and translation see Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 11; A. Ünal, "Der Mythos vom Schlangendämon Illuyanka," in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. III.4 (Gütersloh, 1994) 808–11; G. Beckman, "The Storm-God and the Serpent (Illuyanka) (1.56)," in W.W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture*, vol. I (Leiden, 1997) 150–1; García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas*, 83–85.

[117] Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* II (Berlin, 1924) 191–6.

that Medea should stay behind in the temple of Artemis on one of the islands. Unhappy with this decision, Medea convinced Jason to take her home with him. Jason proposed to accomplish this by luring Apsyrtos into the temple and murdering him. Medea supported the scheme by sending false messages to Apsyrtos, promising to steal the Fleece and hand it back to him. Tempted by her treacherous offer Apsyrtos came to the sanctuary of Artemis at night and was jumped upon by Jason as he spoke with his sister. Medea quickly covered her eyes with her veil, to avoid seeing Jason hit her brother "as an ox-slayer strikes a big, powerful bull". Jason cut off Apsyrtos' extremities and "three times he licked up some blood and three times he spat out the pollution, as killers are wont to do to expiate treacherous murders". Deprived of their commander, the Colchians became easy prey for the Argonauts, who successfully defeated them (4.452–76).

The murder of Apsyrtos raises several questions. Working from this overview of the event, we will attempt to answer four interrelated questions: 1) how was the murder committed? 2) where did it take place? 3) who committed it? and 4) why was it committed?

Judging from his comparison to an ox-slayer, who was employed at sacrifices to stun the largest victims, oxen and the bull, by hitting them on the back of the head before their throats were slit,[118] Jason killed Apsyrtos by jumping upon him from behind. Although the Greeks had few objections against killing enemies in whatever way they could during the archaic period, in later times they condemned the idea of killing 'by stealth', and fiercely condemned such murders.[119] The killers themselves also felt this social disapproval, which was reflected in the serious pollution attached to their act. So, to prevent the ghost from returning and avenging himself, they mutilated the corpse by cutting off the extremities, just as Jason cut off Apsyrtos' extremities, and tied the severed parts round its neck and under his armpits.[120] It also was common for Greek

[118] G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mágeiros* (Leiden and Montréal, 1982) 18–9; F.T. van Straten, *Hierà kalá* (Leiden, 1995) 107–9; J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* (Münster, 2002) 288f.

[119] Cf. Parker, *Miasma*, 132–3 (stealth).

[120] On this ritual, which was called *maschalismos*, see most recently M. Teufel, *Brauch und Ritus bei Apollonios Rhodius* (Diss. Tübingen, 1939) 91–104; M. Schmidt, "Eine unteritalische Vasendarstellung des Laokoon-Mythos," in E. Berger and R. Lullies (eds.), *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig* I (Basel, 1979) 239–48 at 242–3; R. Parker, "A Note on *phonos, thysia* and *maschalismos*," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 9 (1984) 138 (commenting on *SEG* 35.113); R. Ceulemans, "Ritual mutilation in Apollonius

murderers to lick up and then spit out the blood of their victims, as Jason did, in order to rid themselves of the *miasma* they had incurred.[121] It is typical, furthermore, of the Greek mentality of the post-archaic period that these actions were to no avail; Zeus decreed that not only Jason, but Medea as well would suffer countless pains despite their efforts at self-purification (4.557–61).

Apollonius made the killing even more abominable by situating it in a temple. For the Greeks, death of any kind within a sanctuary amounted to sacrilege. Indeed, in 426/5 BC, it was decided that all existing graves, except for the tombs of heroes, had to be removed from Apollo's sacred island Delos. The scholiast on Euripides' *Medea* 1334, who seems to have only vaguely remembered this passage of the *Argonautica*, specifies that Apollonius situated the murder at an altar. If that really had been the case, the murder would have been even more horrible. Greek suppliants sometimes took refuge at altars to avoid death; murder at the altar was sacrilege in the extreme, therefore, and it was expected that the gods would severely punish the offenders. In myth, disasters were traced to such murders; in history, they were long remembered.[122]

The scholiast will have made a mistake, because according to the Euripidean passage on which he was commenting, Medea killed her brother "near the hearth". Like altars, the hearths of either private houses or cities—the sacred centres that symbolized the solidarity of the family and the community—were places where suppliants could expect protection.[123] Euripides probably pictured Apsyrtos at his ancestral hearth, as both Sophocles (fr. 343), and Callimachus (fr. 8) state that his murder took place at home. Like Apollonius, then, Euripides represented the murder as particularly sacrilegious. Both poets drew on a long tradition of such murders, since already in the *Odyssey* (3.324–5)

Rhodius' *Argonautica*," Kernos 20 (2007) 97–112. All literary sources on the ritual go back to the third-century BC grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium fr. 412.

[121] For spitting out of pollutions, see Parker, *Miasma*, 108, 133 note 111; Th. Oudemans and A. Lardinois, *Tragic Ambiguity* (Leiden, 1987) 183.

[122] Cf. Parker, *Miasma*, 33 (death in temple), 182–5 (murder at an altar); Bremmer, "Walking, standing, and sitting in ancient Greek culture," in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1991) 15–35 at 25; A. Pomari, "Le massacre des innocents," in C. Bron and E. Kassapoglou (eds.), *L'image en jeu de l'Antiquité à Paul Klee* (Lausanne, 1992) 103–25; D. Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar. Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern* (Wiesbaden 1998); A. Maggiani, "'Assassinari all'altare'. Per la storia di due scheme iconografici greci in Etruria," *Prospettiva* 100 (2000) 9–18; L. Giuliani, *Bild und Mythos* (Munich, 2003) 203–8.

[123] Cf. Bremmer, "Walking, standing, and sitting," 25.

Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra are portrayed as killing Agamemnon 'at the (ancestral) hearth'.

Curiously, the mythographer Pherecydes (a perhaps older contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides), presents a rather different version of Apsyrtos' death. According to him, Medea took the young Apsyrtos with her when the Argonauts fled from Colchis by ship. As her father Aeetes pursued them, she killed her brother and cut him into pieces, which she then threw into the river in order to delay her father's pursuit. Roman authors, including Ovid, combined the various versions of the murder in innovating ways, telling of how Apsyrtos was killed in a battle at the mouth of the Danube and his limbs scattered over the neighbouring fields.[124] It is clear, then, that in the oldest sources available (Pherecydes, Euripides), it was Medea herself who killed her brother and that this tradition recurs in later sources.[125]

But how old is this tradition? Wilamowitz suggested that the name Apsyrtos was already included in the *Corinthiaca*, an epic credited to the early archaic Corinthian poet Eumelos. He based this supposition on the fact that Medea played a considerable role in Eumelos' epic and that Apsyrtos' name often was connected with the Apsyrtides Islands, near the Illyrian coast and within the Corinthian sphere of influence.[126] This etymology was so popular that in early Imperial times the grave of Apsyrtos could be shown to tourists passing the islands (Arrian, *Periplus* 6.3), and the sixth-century historian Procopius (*Bellum Gothicum* 2.11–2, 14) mentions that in his time the inhabitants of Apsaros, a city that once was called Apsyrtos, still claimed that the murder had taken place on the islands. Even if Wilamowitz' suggestion is correct, which is not at all certain, does that allow us to conclude that Medea's fratricide belongs to the oldest *strata* of the myth of the Argonauts?[127]

As Fritz Graf has convincingly argued, originally Medea was a divine character, who functioned as iniatrix for Jason.[128] In support of his thesis

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[124] Cic. *Manil*. 22; Ov. *Trist*. 3.9.21–34, *Her*. 6.129–30, 12.131–2; Val. Flacc. *Arg*. 8.261–467; Apollod. 1.9.24.

[125] Later sources: Call. fr. 8 (probably); Strabo 7.5.5; Hermogenes 2.28, 31, 35; *Arg. Orph.* 1033–4; Steph. Byz. α 579.

[126] Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* II, 193f. For a possible, if unlikely, Abchasian etymology of Apsyrtos, see G. Charachidzé, *Prométhée ou le Causase* (Paris, 1986) 335 note 3.

[127] Unfortunately, virtually all archaic Argonautic poetry has been lost. For a small fragment, though, see now *POxy*. 53.3698, mentioning Orpheus, Mopsos, and Aeetes.

[128] Graf, "Medea, the Enchantress".

we may perhaps compare Odysseus, whose voyage also displays unmistakably initiatory elements.[129] During his wanderings he stays for a while with Circe, who strongly resembles Medea as loving goddess and 'witch', and who is explicitly identified as the sister of Medea's father Aeetes (*Od.* 10.137).[130] Did the poet of the *Odyssey* want us to see a connection here? This does not seem impossible, as he also supplies another clear initiatory pointer. Before Odysseus arrives at the Phaeacians, he is saved by Ino Leukothea, who gives him a veil. She has been persuasively compared to the 'divine helper' in folktales who assists the hero at a critical moment, as analysed by the great Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp (1895–1970) in his classic study of the morphology of the folktale,[131] but in his later study of the historical roots of the folktale Propp puts the helper and the object given by her in an explicitly initiatory context.[132] And indeed, Ino Leukothea still functioned as an initiatory goddess in historical times.[133] As the poet of the *Odyssey* clearly knew the myth of the Argonauts,[134] the parallel between Circe and Medea is a further argument for Graf's view of Medea as an original initiatory goddess.[135] Apparently, Homer still realised the initiatory nature of Medea, just as other mythmakers of early Greece.[136]

But if Medea was a goddess in the oldest *strata* of the myth of the Argonauts, she can hardly have been the murderess of Apsyrtos from the very beginning. Where, then, did the motif of the dismembering fratricide originate? It is noteworthy that a *maschalismos* is also found in

[129] See Bremmer, "Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978) 5–38.

[130] For the resemblance between Medea and Circe, see G. Crane, *Calypso: backgrounds and conventions of the Odyssey* (Frankfurt, 1988) 142.

[131] Cf. A. Heubeck *et al.*, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I (Oxford, 1988) 282 (on *Od.* 5.333–4: by J.B. Hainsworth). 'Divine helper': V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 1928[1] (Austin, 1968[2]) 39–50.

[132] I have used the French translation of this seminal work, which originally appeared in Russia in 1946: V. Propp, *Les racines historiques du conte merveilleux* (Paris, 1983).

[133] See the discussion by F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 405–6; Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," 189.

[134] On this much discussed problem, see most recently W. Kullmann, "Ergebnisse der motivgeschichtlichen Forschung zu Homer (Neoanalyse)," in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (Stuttgart, 1991) 425–55 at 449–52.

[135] Note also that the encounter between Circe and Odysseus was the most popular theme on the vases of the Theban Kabirion, a sanctuary in which initiations took place: J.-M. Moret, "Circé tisseuse sur les vases du Cabirion," *Rev. Arch.* 1991, 227–66.

[136] Graf, "Medea," 39–43.

Sophocles' drama about Achilles' murder of the Trojan prince Troilos,[137] which took place in the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraios before the walls of Troy. Curiously, in the same sanctuary another *maschalismos* took place as well: here, snakes tore to pieces the priest Laokoon and his sons, literally so, as a late fifth-century, South-Italian krater illustrates. The motif, then, is at home at this sanctuary and may have been inspired by a kind of abnormal sacrifice.[138] Now we also know that on one of the early Etruscan vases Achilles is shown as cutting off the head of Troilos and so making his own flight possible.[139] Can it be that an archaic poem about the Argonauts borrowed a motif from the myths surrounding the Trojan War, just as Homer had borrowed from the Argonauts' myth?

Unfortunately, the oldest traditions do not explain why Medea killed her brother. It seems reasonable to presume that she used her dead brother to delay the Colchian 'posse', since this is the motive given for the dismemberment of Apsyrtos at sea in later sources. Admittedly, it has been suggested that the dismemberment of Apsyrtos served as a sacrifice to avert extreme danger at sea, but the fact that in the oldest tradition Apsyrtos was killed at home shows that this interpretation can be valid at most only for the later versions of the story.[140] Moreover, a 'realistic' reading does not explain why Greek myth either ascribed the fratricide to Medea or why it was a brother—rather than a sister, for example—whom Medea killed.

Our understanding of the murder, therefore, will be enriched by an examination of Greek attitudes towards the relationship between sister and brother.[141] Brothers and sisters erected gravestones for one another,

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[137] Soph. fr. 623; for the myth see most recently E. Mackay, "Visions of tragedy: Tragic structuring in Attic black-figure representations of the story of Troilos," *Akroterion* 41 (1996) 31–43; G. Hedreen, *Capturing Troy* (Ann Arbor, 2001) 120–81; R. von den Hoff, "'Achill, das Vieh'? Zur Problematisierung transgressiver Gewalt in klassischen Vasenbilder," in G. Fischer and S. Moraw (eds.), *Die andere Seite der Klassik: Gewalt im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 2005) 224–46 at 228–34.

[138] For this suggestion and the connection of the two murders, see Schmidt, "Eine unteritalische Vasendarstellung"; E. Simon, "Laokoon," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 196–201 at no. 1; A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Achilleus," in *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 37–200 at no's 282–372 and "Troilos," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 91–94.

[139] This is the suggestion of A. Lesky, in *RE* 7A (1948) 603f.

[140] *Contra* H.S. Versnel, "A Note on the *Maschalismos* of Apsyrtos," *Mnemosyne* IV 26 (1973) 62–3, considered as 'not very persuasive' by C. Ginzburg, *Ecstasies. Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (London, 1990) 286.

[141] Cf. J.J. Bachofen, *Gesammelte Werke* VIII (Basel and Stuttgart, 1966) 157–86; C.A. Cox, "Sibling Relationships in Classical Athens: Brother-Sister Ties," *J. Fam.Hist.* 13 (1988) 377–95 at 380–2 and "Sibling relationships in Menander," in A. Bresson *et al.* (eds.), *Parenté et société dans le monde grec de l'antiquité à l'âge moderne* (Bordeaux, 2006) 153–8

and Athenian grave reliefs regularly display a brother and sister standing together.[142] As is so often the case with gravestones, the reliefs should not be taken as a reflection of real life but as a statement of the ideal relationship: the parents probably wanted to stress the closeness of their children. And as far as we can see, they generally succeeded in their attempts, as we regularly hear of close contacts between brothers and sisters. In the tragic history of Periander (ca. 625–585), as related by Herodotus (3.53); and in this form not impossibly his own invention,[143] the Corinthian tyrant, having failed to mend the rift between himself and his son Lycophron, finally sends Lycophron's sister in order to persuade him, hoping that she would succeed where he had continually failed. Around 500 BC. Simichos, the tyrant of Sicilian Centuripi, was so impressed by Pythagoras' teaching that he abdicated and divided his goods between his sister and his fellow citizens.[144] In the fifth century, we may perhaps see as examples of the close bond between brother and sister the joy of recognition manifested between Electra and Orestes in Sophocles' *Electra* and the close cooperation between the same pair in Euripides' *Electra*, although in these cases the joy and the initiative seem to be more on Electra's part than on Orestes'. In the fourth century, Onetor's sister helped him to defraud Demosthenes (Dem. 31.11–2) and Dionysodorus asked his sister to visit him in prison before his execution (Lysias 13.41). A sister even committed suicide in grief at her brother's death (Lysias fr. 22). Such suicides may not have been as unusual in ancient Greece as one might expect; Callimachus (*Ep.* 20 = 32 GP) dedicated an epigram to a girl from Cyrene who committed suicide on the very same day as her brother had died.[145]

The mourning sister is also a familiar figure in Greek mythology. In Xenocles' *Likymnios* (*TrGF* 33 F 2) Alcmene mourned her brother.

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at 153–6; M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, 1990) 121–35; J. Alaux, "Sur quelques pièges de la parenté. Soeurs et frères dans la tragédie athénienne," *Annali Scuola Normale Pisa* III 25 (1995) 219–42. In general: L. Davidoff, "Quello che è straniero. Inizia nel rapporto 'fratello-sorella'," *Quaderni Storici* 28 (1992) 555–65.

[142] P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (Berlin and New York, 1983) index, s.v. *adelphos/ê*; Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 125–9.

[143] See the fine analysis in C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991) 244–84.

[144] Porph. *VP* 21.

[145] A. Ambühl, "Zwischen Tragödie und Roman: Kallimachos' Epigramm auf den Selbstmord der Basilo (20 Pfeiffer = 32 Gow-Page = *AP* 7.517)," in A. Harder *et al.* (eds.), *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Leuven, 2002) 1–26, who also compares Theocritus, *AP* 7.662 = 9 GP; Diod. Sic. 3.57.5 (Selene and Helios); Ov. *Met.* 2.340–66 (Heliads).

The sisters of Meleager (below) mourned their brother until Artemis changed them into birds caled *meleagrides*. And, of course, the sisters of Phaeton mourned him eternally, having been transformed into weeping poplars.[146] Greek myth also knew of other examples of a close contact between sister and brother(s). When Meleager had withdrawn from the battle around Pleuron, his sisters came to beseech him to resume fighting (*Il.* IX.584). Alcmene refused to marry Amphitryon unless he avenged her brothers' death (Apollod. 2.4.6), just as in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (359–60), Cassandra vowed to murder Agamemnon in vengeance for the deaths of her father and brothers. Hyginus (*Fab.* 109) relates the strange story of Priam's daughter Iliona, who raised her brother Polydorus as her own son and her real son by the Thracian king Polymestor as her brother. When, after the fall of Troy, the king gave in to the Greeks' requests to do away with the Trojan prince, Polymestor unknowingly killed his own son instead.

In Greece, this close contact between brothers and sisters must have continued even after the sister's marriage, seeing as how from Homeric times until the end of the classical age there was a close relationship between a man and his sister's son, for whom the uncle often served as a role model.[147] The interaction between brother and sister must sometimes have been so close that political opponents could successfully insinuate that they enjoyed an incestuous relationship, as in the case of Cimon and his sister Elpinice; similarly, young Alcibiades was accused of having entered his sister's house "not as her brother but as her husband".[148]

In fact, brothers were supposed to guard the honour, and in particular the sexual honour, of their sisters. When the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus slighted Harmodius' sister by refusing, at the last minute, to let her act as basket-carrier in the Great Panathenaea procession, Harmodius was sufficiently angered to murder Hipparchus.[149] We also find this concern for the sister's honour in myths. Troilos was ambushed by Achilles when

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[146] Meleager: Soph. fr. 830a; Ant. Lib. 2.6; Ov. *Met.* 8.542–6; Hyg. *Fab* 174. Phaeton: *SH Adesp.* 988; Ov. *Met.* 2.340–66.

[147] For many examples, see my "The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and Early Byzantium," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 173–86 and "Fosterage, Kinship and the Circulation of Children in Ancient Greece," *Dialogos* 6 (1999) 1–20.

[148] Cimon and Elpinice: And. 4.33; Plut. *Cim.* 4.5–7; H. Mattingly, "Facts and Artifacts: the Researcher and his Tools," *The University of Leeds Review* 14 (1971) 277–97 at 285–7. Alcibiades: Lysias 14.28.

[149] Cf. B. Lavelle, "The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult to Harmodios," *Am. J. Philol.* 107 (1986) 318–31.

he accompanied his sister to a fountain (above). When Alcmaeon, who first had married Arsinoe, tried to regain his wedding present to Arsinoe in order that he might give it to his second wife, Callirhoe, Arsinoe's brothers killed him (Apollod. 3.7.5–6). Events could turn out just as seriously when the sexual honour of the sister was at stake. Among the various versions current about the death of Alcibiades that Plutarch relates in his biography (39.5), is one that says that the brothers of a girl whom he had 'corrupted' killed him. We find this concern also in myths. When Agamemnon had killed the first husband of Clytaemnestra and married her against her will, her brothers, the Dioskouroi, came after him to rescue their sister (Eur. *IA* 1148–56). Having sacked Tenedos, Achilles pursued the beautiful sister of Tenes, who tried to defend her. The sister escaped, but Tenes was killed by Achilles (Plut. *M* 297ef). The Greek poetess Myrtis (*ap.* Plut. *M* 300–1) told the sad story of the chaste hero Eunostus, who resisted the advances of his cousin Ochna. She subsequently denounced him to her brothers, who became incensed and killed the innocent boy in an ambush. Equally tragic was the end of Apemosyne. When Hermes fell in love with her, she first eluded the god by outrunning him. To catch her, he spread fresh hides on the path she took home from the spring;[150] when she slipped on the hides, the god grabbed his opportunity. When Apesymone told her brother about the rape, he, failing to believe her, kicked her to death (Apollod. 3.2.2).

It is only in the fourth century that we hear of brothers who fail their sisters. Diocles refused to find a husband for his widowed sister so that he could continue to exploit her services (Isaeus 8.36), and Olympiodorus let his sister live in poverty ([Dem]. 48.54f). In the latter case, the orator adds that she was "a sister of the same father and the same mother" to make the horror of the story greater. Timocrates was reproached for having "sold his sister into export"—that is to say, to have married her off to an inhabitant of Corcyra (Dem. 24.202–3). Is this story a sign of its times, an indication that the character of the family was changing and friendship was becoming more important than earlier periods? In any case, we should take into account that brother-sister conflicts are very rare in Greek myth.[151] When Phalces murders his sister Hyrnetho,

[150] In Greek and Roman myths, girls are particularly vulnerable to attack while they are fetching water, cf. Bremmer and Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, 52 (with earlier bibliography); I. Manfrini, "Femmes à la fontaine: réalité et imaginaire," in Bron and Kassapoglou, *L'image en jeu*, 127–48.

[151] As observed by S.C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death* (London, 1983) 71.

he does so unintentionally (Paus. 2.28.3) and when, in Euripides' *Helen*, the priestess Theonoe opposes her brother, she is reconciled with him by the end of the play.

The close relationship between sister and brother is equally attested in contemporary Greece. Among the Sarakatsani, as elsewhere, a brother is expected to guard his sister against rape and insults. He also watches over his sister after his father's death and she, in turn, provides him with new social and political connections by her marriage. Maniote folk laments even suggest that sisters would avenge their brothers when no male relative was available, or else bring up their own sons to fulfil this duty upon reaching adulthood.[152]

Did the close relationship between brother and sister lead to conflicts of interest after her marriage? There are two cases in particular that reveal some of the tensions often suffered by a Greek married woman. Already in *Iliad* we hear of Meleager, who killed his maternal uncles during that most famous of all mythical hunts, the Calydonian boar hunt. Meleager's mother, Althaea, was so enraged by the deaths of her brothers that she cursed her son, and, at least in later versions of the story, committed suicide.[153] A different conflict is narrated by Herodotus (3.119), who tells of how the wife of Intaphernes,[154] after the arrest of her husband, children and near relatives, went to the palace (literally: the doors)[155] and kept up a lament.[156] Finally, the king allowed her to choose one prisoner to be saved. She chose her brother. When asked why by the surprised king, she explained: "I can always have another husband…but in no way can I ever have another brother".

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[152] Sarakatsani: J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964) 178f. Elsewhere: J. Du Boulay, *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village* (Oxford, 1974) 157. Mani: G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices. Women's laments and Greek literature* (London and New York, 1992) 84–6.

[153] For a full analysis, see Bremmer, "La plasticité du mythe: Méléagre dans la poésie homérique," in C. Calame (ed.), *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique* (Lausanne, 1988) 37–56; see also R. Seaford, "The Structural Problems of Marriage in Euripides," in A. Powell (ed.), *Euripides, Women, and Sexuality* (London, 1990) 151–76 at 166f.

[154] For the wife's lack of name see Bremmer, 'Plutarch and the Naming of Greek Women', *Am. J. Philol.* 102 (1981) 425f.

[155] For the expression see S. West, "Croesus' Second Reprieve and Other Tales of the Persian Court," *CQ* 53 (2003) 416–37 at 434 note 91.

[156] For Intaphernes' downfall see C.W. Müller, "Der Tod des Intaphrenes," *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002) 222–31, reprinted in his *Legende—Novelle—Roman* (Göttingen, 2006) 309–35; S. West, "Croesus' Second Reprieve," 433–36.

This story is not unique; already at the end of the 19th century, scholars began to find parallels in India and Persia.[157] The oldest parallel is found in the *Jātaka* (1.7 [67]), a collection of stories about the former births of the Buddha, which might date to the last centuries BC.[158] A woman whose son, husband, and brother are arrested, is allowed by the king to choose one of them to be saved and chooses her brother because "[another] son, o Lord, [I may find] in my womb; a husband by searching the street, but I do not see the place from which I could recover a brother".[159] The fact that these words are a verse within a story told in prose leaves open the possibility that the verse originally belonged to an earlier tradition and was only later incorporated into the *Jātaka*. Such incorporation clearly has taken place in some versions of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyana*, which seem to quote the second half of this Pali verse. When Rama gets into a fight during the quest for his wife Sita, he believes that his younger brother Laksmana has fallen in battle and he exclaims: "A wife could be [found] anywhere, even a son and other relatives, but nowhere do I see the place where is [another] brother born from the same womb". The fact that this verse calls Rama's brother a 'brother of the same womb' although he is only a half-brother, seems to support the decision of the recent critical edition of the *Rāmāyana* to relegate this version to the critical apparatus.[160] The reading accepted by the critical edition is indeed somewhat less pointed:

> Of what use to me is the recovery of Sita, of what use is even my life to me, when I now see my brother lying down fallen in battle? By search-

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[157] India: T. Slezák, "Bemerkungen zur Diskussion um *Sophokles, Antigone 904–920*," *RhM* 124 (1981) 108–42 at 124 note 27 and Müller, *Legende—Novelle—Roman*, 319 note 28 have overlooked that C.H. Tawney, *Indian Antiquary* 10 (1881) 370–1 was the first to notice the resemblance between the Indian and the Greek examples, not R. Pischel, *Hermes* 28 (1893) 465–8.

[158] Previous discussions of the Indian material have not taken matters of chronology and textual criticism into sufficient account. If I have made more progress in this respect, this is due completely to the advice of Hans Bakker and Harunaga Isaacson; see also Müller, *Legende—Novelle—Roman*, 319–31.

[159] Cf. V. Fausbøll, *The Jātaka together with Its Commentary being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha* I (London, 1877, reprint 1962) 306–8, tr. E.B. Cowell (ed.), *Stories of the Buddha's Former Births translated from the Pali by Various Hands* I (Cambridge, 1895) 102–04.

[160] Cf. the *Valmiki-Rāmāyana* critical edition, 7 vols (London, 1960–75) *ad* 6.39.5. For the close relationship between the two brothers see R.P. Goldman, "Ramah Sahalaksmanah: psychological and literary aspects of the composite hero of Valmiki's *Ramayana*," *J. Indian Philos.* 8 (1980) 149–89.

> ing it is possible to find a woman equal to Sita, but not a brother like Laksmana, an associate, a comrade (6.39.5–6).

In their present form, the Indian examples are at least a few centuries later than Herodotus, although the possibility cannot be excluded that the *Jātaka* incorporated older material into its text. In any case, there is no proof that the Herodotean motif is to be derived from India.[161]

It is highly interesting to see that the motif recurs in the Near East in the Middle Ages.[162] In the Persian *Marzuban-nama*, a collection of fables and anecdotes written between 1210 and 1225, we find the tale of a king named Zahhak, who has to feed two serpents that grow out of his shoulders with human flesh. One day, the husband, son and brother of a certain woman named Hanbuiy are seized for this purpose. Pitying the lamenting woman, the king allows her a choice of one of the three. After various considerations, she choses her brother because, she says, she can marry again and have another son, but as her parents are separated she can never have another brother. When the king hears her story, he orders that her husband and son should be released as well.[163]

Curiously, we find a close parallel in a story of the notorious Umayyadic governor al-Hajjâj (died 714 AD) in a roughly contemporaneous, mid-eleventh-century Arabic anthology. After the governor had arrested the husband, son and brother of a certain woman she was allowed to chose one of them to be spared. She answered: "My husband? I shall find another. My son? I shall again be a mother. But I shall never find again my brother". Because of her eloquent answer in rhyming prose (the Arabic has *al-zawj mawjûd, wa-l-ibn mawlûd, wa-l-akh mafqûd*) the governor released all three prisoners.[164] Being so close in time and space these two stories must be connected, but, unfortunately, we can no longer trace the paths along which these stories travelled. An oral tradition, though, seems more than likely.

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[161] *Contra* R. Beekes, "'You can get new children…'," *Mnemosyne* IV 39 (1986) 225–39 at 231–3; Müller, *Legende—Novelle—Roman*, 325–9.

[162] For other examples see U. Masing, "Bruder eher als Gatten oder Sohn gerettet," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 2 (1976) 861–4; C. Tuplin, "Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*: education and fiction," in A. Sommerstein and C. Atherton (eds.), *Education in Greek Fiction* (Bari, 1997) 64–163 at 128–9; W. Hansen, *Ariadne's thread: a guide to international tales found in classical literature* (Ithaca, 2002) 62–66.

[163] Sa'd al-Din Varavini, *The Marzubān-nāma*, ed. Mirzá Muhammad of Qazwin (London, 1909) tr. R. Levy, *The Tales of Marzuban* (London, 1959) 16f. The parallel was first noted by Th. Nöldeke, *Hermes* 29 (1894) 155f.

[164] I owe this parallel to Geert Jan van Gelder, who refers me to the following edition: Al-Râghib al-Isfahânî, *Muhâdarât al-udabâ'* I (Bûlâq [near Cairo], 1870) 225.

Before we think of a connection between the Herodotean passage and the Indian, Persian and Arabic parallels, we should note that the motif also is popular elsewhere. In West Africa, the following problem has been recorded:

> During a crossing of a river, a proah capsizes. On it was a man with his sister, wife and mother-in-law, none of the latter being able to swim. Whom did he save?

Interestingly, the following comments are added:

> If you save your sister and let your wife drown, you have to pay a new dowry. If you save your wife and abandon your sister, your parents will strongly reproach you. But if you choose to save your mother-in-law, you are an idiot![165]

Just as conflicts between natal and conjugal family must have been widespread, so, too, can problems such as the one illustrated by Herodotus arise independently.[166]

However this may be, there is widespread agreement that the Herodotean anecdote was echoed by Sophocles in his *Antigone* (909–12),[167] where Antigone bursts out:

> The husband lost, another might have been found, and child from another, to replace the first-born; but, father and mother hidden with Hades, no brother's life could ever bloom for me again (tr. Jebb).

There is, of course, something incredibly poignant to her exclamation, as her brother is already dead. Moreover, the Athenian audience may not have approved of a girl who preferred her brother over her husband.[168]

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[165] D. Paulme, *La mère dévorante. Essai sur la morphologie des contes africaines* (Paris, 1976) 51–4.

[166] Note also the following altercation in Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum* (the text was published in the *Rev. Philol.* NS 12, 1888) 118–27 at 127: *S. Amisi uxorem bonam.—R. Soror reparari bona non potest: uxor adventicum est; non est inter illa quae semel unicuique contingunt.*

[167] Cf. the detailed demonstration by Szlezák, "Bemerkungen zur Diskussion," 112–3; S. West, "Sophocles' *Antigone* and Herodotus Book Three," in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited: Essays presented to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford, 1999) 109–36. The passage at lines 904–20 has often been suspected, but its authenticity has more recently been stressed by Oudemans and Lardinois, *Tragic Ambiguity*, 186–7, 192; Griffith *ad loc.*; H. Lloyd-Jones and N.G. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford, 1990) 138, and, especially, M. Neuburg, "How Like a Woman: Antigone's 'Inconsistency'," *CQ* 40 (1990) 54–76.

[168] As is forcefully argued by C. Sourvinou-Inwood:, "Sophocles *Antigone* 904–920: a reading," *Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli* 9–10 (1987–88) 19–35, "Assumptions and the creation of meaning: reading Sophocles' *Antigone*," *JHS* 109 (1989) 134–48 and

Yet would they strongly have disapproved of her choice?[169] The loyalty of Athenian males was first to their parents and kinsmen, only after that to their wife and children.[170] Would Athenian men really have expected their own sisters to behave differently? Real life must have posed great problems to Athenian wives more than once.

Having examined the brother-sister relationship, we now are in a better position to answer the question why myth presented Medea as killing her brother. At least three elements of the murder are noteworthy. First, our discussion of the Athenian sibling relationships has made it clear why it was a brother whom Medea murdered rather than, say, a sister or cousin. Whereas sisters would probably be friends with one another and brothers possible rivals, a sister's brother normally would have been the one member of the family who would serve as her protector after the death of her father. In other words, by killing her brother, Medea permanently severed all ties to her parental home. After the murder of Apsyrtos, there was only one way to go: follow Jason and never look back.

Second, the oldest layers of Greek myth deliberately polarized reality by representing Medea as having only one brother, although the modern ideal of a two-child family did not exist in ancient Greece. Third, considering that, among sibling relationships, the one between brother and sister was particularly close, we may assume that Medea's act evinced great feelings of horror on the part of the Greek audience. Indeed, just as the Greeks considered parricide such an appalling crime that the murder of Laios by Oedipus was virtually never represented on Greek vases, so we do not find a single certain artistic representation of Apsyrtos' murder.[171]

"Sophocles' Antigone as a 'bad woman'," in F. Dieteren and E. Kloek (eds.), *Writing Women into History* (Amsterdam, 1990) 11–38.

[169] Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices*, 163 unequivocally states that the women would have followed the ties of blood.

[170] Cf. K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974) 272, 302–3; M. Visser, "Medea: Daughter, Sister, Wife and Mother. Natal Family *versus* Conjugal Family in Greek and Roman Myths about Women," in M.J. Cropp *et al.* (eds.), *Greek Tragedy and Its Legacy. Essays presented to D.J. Conacher* (Calgary, 1986) 149–65, with many perceptive observations on the myth of Medea.

[171] Parricide: Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1987) 49. Apsyrtos: C. Clairmont, "Apsyrtos," in *LIMC* II.1 (1984) 467 and M. Schmidt, "Medeia," in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 386–98. For a possible exception see J. Oakley, "The Departure of the Argonauts on the Dinos Painter's Bell Krater in Gela," *Hesperia* 76 (2007) 347–57.

One feels somewhat uneasy in distinguishing between various kinds of murder, but it is clear that the Greeks considered infanticide less appalling than the murder of adults. The former did not incur the same taboos or penalties, since it disturbed society to a much lesser extent; in fact, exposure, which often amounted to infanticide, was a normal Greek practice.[172] This difference may well explain why already at an early stage some mythmakers, who must have felt bothered about the fratricide, tried to make the murder less horrible by presenting Apsyrtos as a child. Sophocles (fr. 343) calls him a boy and Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 32) relates that Medea took him, small as he was, from his bed, etymologising his name as *Axyrtos*, literally 'unshorn', and handed him over to the Argonauts to be killed. Even more clearly, Sophocles (fr. 546) states explicitly that Apsyrtos was only a half brother of Medea, being the son of a Nereid. Apollonius (3.242) also says that Apsyrtos was the son of a Caucasian concubine, Asterodeia, whereas Medea herself was the daughter of Aeetes' later official wife Eiduia.[173] In other words, some versions of the myth tried to 'soften' the murder by making it look more 'innocent' to Greek eyes. Not every mythmaker agreed, though. Although Apollonius makes Jason the murderer and not Medea, he still implicates her strongly in the killing, as Apsyrtos' blood paints his sister's silvery veil and dress red (4.474); similarly, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1389f.) the blood of her husband strikes Clytaemnestra, although Aegisthus is the actual murderer.[174]

Our discussion of Apsyrtos' murder has, I hope, illuminated the reason that Medea murdered her *brother*. This is not to say that the meaning of the murder is altogether crystal clear even now. It is still unexplained why an archaic poet let Medea kill her brother in such a particularly gruesome way. And why did Greek myth represent Medea as the kin-killer par excellence? Is there a connection with the initiatory background of the expedition of the Argonauts?[175] The role of Medea in the myth of the Golden Fleece still poses many problems.

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[172] The practice has often been discussed. See most recently, with extensive bibliography, M. Golden, "The Uses of Cross-Cultural Comparison in Ancient Social History," *Échos du monde classique* 36 (1992) 309–31 at 325–31.

[173] In another archaic epic, the *Carmen Naupacticum* (fr. 7[B] D = 6 B), Aietes' wife has again a totally different name, Eurylyte (see note 10).

[174] This detail has to be added to other echoes of Agamemnon's death in Apollonius' epic, see R. Hunter, *The* Argonautica *of Apollonius* (Cambridge, 1993) 61 note 69.

[175] For this background, see Graf, "Orpheus," 95–9 and "Medea," 39–43.

6. *The routes of transmission*

When we now look back, we can see that the myth of the Argonauts was made up from elements that may have reached Greece via, at least, two different routes. Walter Burkert has recently devoted an, as always, stimulating article to these routes: the 'via fenicia' and the 'via anatolica'.[176] The latter must have been the route of the later 'Royal Road' of the Persians that went from Sardis to Susa.[177] The road was probably not newly constructed by the Persians, but made use of existing routes. It connected the Anatolian *hinterland* with exactly the Greek area where we first find those Anatolian 'imports' we have already discussed or touched upon: the scapegoat ritual (Chapter X), the Kronia festival (Chapter V), the myth of the Tantalids (above), and the temple of Kybele in Kolophon (Chapter XIV). When we see that Cyrus the Younger went straight from Sardis to Kelainai (Xen. *An.* 1.2.6–7), where the *kurša* had probably survived into the time of Herodotus (above), we realise the important function Phrygia must have had in these transmission processes. In fact, Phrygia was also famous for its wealth in sheep (Hdt. 5.49) and, as we already saw, its woolly goats. The contacts of Greece with Phrygia were early. Not only did Midas dedicate a throne at Delphi (Hdt. 1.14.2), but on two very early Corinthian vases, an aryballos of about 625 BC and a hydria from 570–550 BC, we can see a character called *Phryx*, 'Phrygian', and on the famous François vase "some of the labels show phonological features which seem to point to "Phrygian"-type languages".[178] But the Hittites were also not far away: the monument on Mt Sipylos, which the Greeks later identified as Niobe daughter of Tantalus, contains Hittite hieroglyphics.[179]

The most southern point of Anatolian influence on this Ionian area was Miletus. This can hardly be chance. Colchis derived its name from

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[176] Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 252–66. For Anatolia see now also M. Bachvarova, "The Eastern Mediterranean Epic Tradition from *Bilgames and Akka* to the *Song of Release* to Homer's *Iliad*," *GRBS* 45 (2005) 131–53.

[177] D.H. French, "Pre- and early-Roman roads of Asia Minor: The Persian Royal Road," *Iran* 36 (1998) 15–43; see also the routes in V. Şakoğlu, "The *Anatolian Trade Network* and the Izmir Region during the Early Bronze Age," *Oxford J. Archaeology* 24 (2005) 339–61.

[178] R. Wachter, "The Inscriptions on the François Vase," *MH* 48 (1991) 86–113 at 93–5 and *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 324–5; E. Olshausen, "Phryges, Phrygia," in *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000) 965–7.

[179] J.D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira: 'Tarkondemos', Bogazkoy sealings and Karabel," *Anat. Stud.* 48 (1998) 1–31.

a country that is called Qulha in reports of Urartian military expeditions of about 750 BC. The reports strongly suggest that it was located to the east of Trapezus.[180] Given the connections of Trapezus with Miletus and the production of the poem(s?) about the Argonauts by, most likely, a Milesian author,[181] Miletus may have heard about the myths and rituals of its *hinterland* via its colonies, via traders that arrived along the land route and via traders that arrived from Cilicia and Cyprus.

Cilicia will have been one of the places of influence, as versions of the Illuyankaš myth had survived the breakdown of the Hittite empire in Cilician Corycus, perhaps by people closely associated with the local sanctuary of 'Zeus'. Now the name Typhon is related to Safon, a holy mountain in Northern Syria, to the north of Ugarit:[182] this points to Phoenician influence, as has long been seen. Such influence should hardly be surprising. The sheer presence of Phoenician inscriptions, pottery and iconography in the region is remarkable,[183] and recent findings have even demonstrated the existence of several Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscriptions in ninth-seventh century BC Kizzuwatna, the area of Corycus.[184] Unfortunately, we are not in a position to reconstruct exactly the 'via fenicia', and an influence from ports with a Greek presence, such as Al Mina,[185] also remains possible.

Opposite Cilicia there is Cyprus, which had close ties, however obscure their exact nature is, to Corycus.[186] Here the Greek alphabet was perhaps

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[180] M. Salvini, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer* (Darmstadt, 1995) 70f.

[181] M.L. West, "*Odyssey* and *Argonautica*," *CQ* 55 (2005) 39–64 at 58.

[182] See most recently C. Bonnet, "Typhon et Baal Saphon," in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Studia Phoenicia*, vol. V (Leuven, 1987) 101–43; J.W. van Henten, "Typhon," in *DDD*[2], 879–81; P.W. Haider, "Von Baal Zaphon zu Zeus und Typhon. Zum Transfer mythischer Bilder aus dem vorderorientalischen Raum in die archaisch-griechische Welt," in R. Rollinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift M. Schretter* (Münster, 2005) 303–37.

[183] For a very detailed survey of all the evidence see E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven, 2004) 109–43; add N. Arslan, "Phönizische Funde aus dem Rauhen Kilikien," *Bull. Ant. Besch* 80 (2005) 1–6.

[184] J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 3 vols (Berlin and New York, 2000) I.48–58 (Karatepe 1); R. Tekoglu and A. Lemaire, "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy," *CRAI* 2000, 961–1007 (Karatepe 2); note also A. Archi, "Kizzuwatna amid Anatolian and Syrian Cults," in De Martino and Pecchioli Daddi, *Anatolica Antica*, 47–53.

[185] For the highly debated nature of Al Mina see most recently J. Boardman, "Greeks and Syria: Pots and People," in G. Tsetskhladze and A. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford, 2002) 1–16; H.G. Niemeyer, "Phoenician or Greek: Is There a Reasonable Way Out of the Al Mina Debate?," *Ancient West & East* 3 (2004) 38–50; G. Lehmann, "Al Mina and the East. A Report on Research in Progress," in A. Villing (ed.), *The Greeks in the East* (London, 2005) 61–92.

[186] See the discussion by Lightfoot, *Parthenius*, 183–85.

taken over from the Phoenicians, who had started to settle on the island from the second part of the tenth century BC onwards,[187] and here the author of the *Cypria* (1 D/B) learned the motif of the overpopulated earth that derives from the *Atrahasis*.[188] So, let us conclude our study of parallels and routes of transmission with one last example drawn from this island. One of the most striking parts of Athena's aegis was the head of the Gorgo Medusa, which had been cut off by Perseus,[189] another hero with strong Oriental connections, in particular with Cilician Tarsos.[190] Perseus' weapon was a *harpê*, the Greek word for sickle that probably derives from a West Semitic word for 'sword',[191] probably another sign of the Phoenician influence on the island. After his victory Perseus put Medusa's head in a *kibisis*, a kind of hunting bag (*kurša*!), as vases clearly illustrate.[192] As the word *kibisis* occurs virtually only in Perseus' myth and is a Cypriot dialect word of non-Indo-European origin,[193] this part of Perseus' myth must have come via Cyprus. It will be no surprise that precisely in the area of Southern Cilicia and Northern Syria representations from the ninth and seventh century have been found that strongly resemble the Greek Gorgo, one even on a shield.[194] The 'via fenicia' probably converged with the 'via cilicia' on Cyprus.

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[187] Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 18 (alphabet); Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, 37–107 (a wide-ranging survey of the 'Phoenician expansion in Cyprus').

[188] Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 100–04.

[189] L.J. Roccos, "Perseus," in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 332–48 at no's 28–80, 87–150b; K. Topper, "Perseus, the Maiden Medusa, and the Imagery of Abduction," *Hesperia* 76 (2007) 73–105; G. Hedreen, "Involved Spectatorship. In Archaic Greek Art," *Art History* 30 (2007) 217–46 at 221–7.

[190] W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983) 210 note 26 (coins).

[191] Oriental connections: Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 83–85; add Pomp. Mela 1.64; P. Harvey, "The Death of Mythology: The Case of Joppa," *J. Early Christ. Stud.* 2 (1994) 1–14. Sickle: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 12; Roccos, "Perseus," *passim*; N.V. Sekunda, "Anatolian War Sickles and the Coinage of Etenna," in R. Ashton (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey* (London, 1996) 9–17; M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 291 (etymology); M. Miller, "In Strange Company: Persians in Early Attic Theatre Imagery," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 (2004) 165–72 at 168–71.

[192] Roccos, "Perseus," no's 139–41, 143, 145, 150ab; note also A. Hughes, "The 'Perseus Dance' vase revisited," *Oxford J. Archaeology* 25 (2006) 413–33 at 426.

[193] Hesiod, *Sc.* 224; Alcaeus fr. 255.3 Lobel/Page= inc. auct. fr. 30 Voigt (possibly Perseus); Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 11 = F 11 Fowler; Call. fr. 177.31 (= *SH* 259.31), fr. 531 (seemingly nothing to do with Perseus); Apollod. 2.4.2; Hsch. κ 2600 (Cyprus); *Et. Magnum* 512; E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague, 1972) 365 (non-Indo-European); West, *East Face*, 454.

[194] B. Gufler, "Orientalische Wurzeln griechischer Gorgo-Darstellungen," in M. Schuol *et al.* (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen. Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum* (Stuttgart, 2002) 61–81 at 79.

It is time to come to a close. The myth of the Golden Fleece is a stirring tale of murder, scapegoats, royalty, youthful love, treason and men behaving badly. It has also turned out to be a tale constructed out of motifs and elements from both Greece and the Orient. In the end, human nature knows no national or cultural borders.[195]

[195] For advice and observations I thank Annemarie Ambühl, Douglas Cairns, Annette Harder, Sarah Iles Johnston and Ian Rutherford.

APPENDIX I

GENESIS 1.1: A JEWISH RESPONSE TO A PERSIAN CHALLENGE?

"In the beginning God created heaven and earth". These proud and programmatic words of the first verse of the opening chapter of *Genesis* have become so familiar to us that we hardly realize how unusual they really are. Yet, as Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) noted, "Kein Wort gibt es in den Kosmogonien anderer Völker, das diesem ersten Wort der Bibel gleichkäme".[1] And indeed, none of the great Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilizations that were Israel's neighbors would have recognized themselves in these words, as a creator 'of heaven and earth' only occasionally occurs in Akkadian and Assyrian texts,[2] and not at all in the cosmogonies of the Sumerians, Hittites and Phoenicians. Only in Egypt was it believed that the god Ptah created by his word everything that exists today.[3] But even accounts of Egyptian cosmogony do not provide the same epigrammatic beginning as the Israelite text. It is therefore not surprising that the standard commentaries on *Genesis* find it difficult to provide a satisfactory explanation for its origin and position in the text.[4] It has even been suggested that, at some stage,

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[1] H. Gunkel, *Die Urgeschichte und die Patriarchen* (Göttingen, 1911) 101; W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973[3]) 75: "fehlt für den sich sprachlich scharf abhebenden V 1 ein Vorbild".

[2] *Enuma elish* VII.86, where Marduk is called "Mummu, fashioner of heaven and earth"; W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Stuttgart, 1953) 321 no. 56.9, where Shamash is called "der Schöpfer von allem und jedwedem im Himmel und auf der Erde"; G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia* (Toronto, 1995) 197, where Marduk is called "creator of heaven and netherworld" (time of Ashurbanipal). For other, less closely resembling passages see *Chicago Assyrian Dictorionary* B 88b (2'), K 504b, M/2 197b (1.a).

[3] See K. Koch, "Wort und Einheit des Schöpfergottes in Memphis und Jerusalem," *Zs. f. Theol. u. Kirche* 62 (1965) 251–93, reprinted in his *Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1988) 61–105; V. Notter, *Biblischer Schöpfungsbericht und ägyptische Schöpfungsmythen* (Stuttgart, 1974) 23–26; J.P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt* (New Haven, 1988) 38–47. For the power of the 'word' in creation accounts see also J.N. Lawson, "Mesopotamian Precursors to the Stoic Concept of Logos," in R.M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies = Melammu Symposia* II (Helsinki, 2001) 69–91.

[4] Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974) 130–41; H. Seebass, *Genesis* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1996) 65; M. Baasten, "Beginnen bij het begin—Over Genesis 1:1," *Alef Beet* 12/1 (2002) 13–26.

the first verse was added to a pre-existing account;[5] in any case, the exact translation remains debated.[6] Recent studies of the beginning of *Genesis* have looked to the Mesopotamian world with its great epics of creation,[7] to the immediate North (the Phoenician world)[8] and to the South, the Egyptians, for help,[9] but none of these cultures provides a proper parallel for *Genesis* 1.1. As the final redaction of *Genesis* is now generally dated to the Achaemenid period, it is rather surprising to note that no Old Testament scholar seems to have looked to the Persians for an answer.

This does not mean that no one ever noticed Persian influence regarding Israel's ideas about the creation. Exactly forty years ago from the time of my writing, Morton Smith suggested that many themes in *Deutero-Isaiah* 40–48 depend on Cyrus' proclamation concerning his conquest of Babylon. The similarities pointed out by Smith certainly exist, if perhaps less in number than he suggests, but, more importantly, Smith also argued that the prominence of the theme of Yahweh's creation of the world in these very chapters depended on Persian cosmological material.[10] To prove his point, he compared *Yasna* 44, a series of questions addressed to Ahuramazda, and he concluded that the author of *Deutero-Isaiah* 40–48 had derived its cosmology from the Persians.[11]

It is indeed striking that the combination of *bara* ('to create') + *shamayim* ('heaven') + *erets* ('earth') in one verse occurs especially in the chapters identified by Smith. In addition to *Genesis* 1.1, 2.4 and *Deuteronomy* 4.32 (same words, but very different combination), the combination occurs only in *Isaiah* 42.5 ("Thus says God, the LORD, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and what comes from it, who gives breath to the people upon it

[5] Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 74–5; Bauks, *Die Welt am Anfang*, 91.

[6] See most recently M. Weippert, "Schöpfung am Anfang oder Anfang der Schöpfung? Noch einmal zu Syntax und Semantik von Gen 1,1–3," *Theol. Zs.* 60 (2004) 5–22.

[7] Bauks, *Die Welt am Anfang*, 230–67.

[8] H. Niehr, *Der höchste Gott* (Berlin, 1990).

[9] Bauks, *Die Welt am Anfang*, 147–230.

[10] For Ahuramazda as creator god see G. Ahn, "Schöpfergott und Monotheismus. Systematische Implikationen in der neueren Gatha-Exegese," in M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper (eds.), *"Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf". Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz* (Münster, 1998) 15–26.

[11] M. Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, ed. S. Cohen, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1996) I.73–83 ("II Isaiah and the Persians," 1963[1]). For Smith (1915–1991) see W.M. Calder III, "Morton Smith," *Gnomon* 64 (1992) 382–4; S. Cohen, "In Memoriam Morton Smith," in Smith, *Studies* II, 279–85.

and spirit to those who walk in it"); 45.8 ("Shower, O heavens, from above, and let the skies rain down righteousness; let the earth open, that salvation may spring up, and let it cause righteousness to sprout up also; I the LORD have created it"); 45.12 ("I made the earth, and created humankind upon it; it was my hands that stretched out the heavens, and I commanded all their host"); 45.18 ("For thus says the LORD, who created the heavens [he is God!], who formed the earth and made it [he established it; he did not create it a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited!]: I am the LORD, and there is no other") and 65.17 ("For I am about to create new heavens and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind").[12]

But do these verses of *Deutero-Isaiah* also point to a Persian influence? As Smith was not an expert *in rebus Persicis*, he consulted his friend and colleague Elias Bickerman, who had long been interested in the history of Israel during the Persian period.[13] Bickerman pointed Smith to an inscription of Xerxes (485–465), found in Persepolis in Old Persian (two copies), Elamite and Babylonian, but since also found in Pasargadae in 1963. At its beginning the Persian king proclaims:

> A great god (is) Ahuramazda, who created this earth,[14] who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created blissful happiness for man, who made Xerxes king, the one king of many, the one master of many.[15]

Bickerman knew this inscription (XPh) from the *ANET* (316–7), which uses a translation by Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948),[16] and he concluded that "II Isaiah's insistence that Yahweh is the creator might thus be seen as reaction, but, reaction or not, its form and presumably its content have been shaped by Persian tradition".[17]

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[12] But note also *Isaiah* 44.24: "I am the LORD, who made (the verb used is *'asah* not *bara*) all things, who alone stretched out the heavens, who by myself spread out the earth".

[13] See, for example, his *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York, 1962); *Four Strange Books of the Bible* (New York, 1967); *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* I (Leiden, 1976) 72–108 ("The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra" 1946[1]), reprinted in E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition in English including* The God of the Maccabees, *introduced by Martin Hengel, edited by Amram Tropper*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2007) I.71–107. For Bickerman see this volume, Chapter X, note 185.

[14] The use of the deictic pronoun ('this earth') is characteristic of Indo-Iranian, cf. M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 341.

[15] For text, translation and commentary see now R. Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-I Rustam and Persepolis* (London, 2000) 88–95.

[16] E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1938) 27–35.

[17] Bickerman *apud* Smith, *Studies*, 82–3.

Bickerman's conclusion seems reasonable, but he does not explain the striking position of the idea of God as creator at the very beginning of *Genesis*. In fact, neither he nor Smith even considered *Genesis* 1.1 in this context. However, in the course of a discussion of Assyrian and early Greek cosmologies, Walter Burkert noted in passing: "Nach einer Inschrift des Darius aus Persepolis ist es Ahura Mazda, der "Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat" (F.H. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, Leipzig 1911, 85), ganz wie Jahwe Gen 1,1".[18] We can now combine the insights of Bickerman and Burkert by looking not so much to the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-I Rustam (DNa) or Persepolis, where the theme of Ahuramazda as creator occurs only in a few inscriptions, but to a different Persian capital, namely Susa.

After Darius I (521–486) had built his palace in Susa, he recorded the building process in a trilingual inscription (Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian) on clay tablets, glazed bricks and marble tables, which he put up all over Susa (DSf). So far about thirteen Old Persian, twelve Elamite and twenty-seven Babylonian copies or fragments of this inscription, called 'Charte du Fondation du Palais' by its *editio princeps*,[19] have been found. Its actual beginning recurs on another, equally frequently displayed inscription in Susa (DSe) with Darius' enumeration of the peoples dominated by him, of which eleven Old Persian, five Elamite and three Babylonian copies or fragments have been found. In other words, the text of the beginning of these inscriptions must have been visible all over Susa. It therefore cannot have escaped foreign visitors from, say, Ionia or Israel. They would have seen an inscription that began as follows:

> A great god (is) Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created blissful happiness for man, who

[18] W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 229 note 32.

[19] V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achémenides à Suse* I (Paris, 1929) 3–34 and *Actes juridiques susiens (suite)—Inscriptions des Achémenides à Suse (supplément et suite)* (Paris, 1933) 105–15. For the most recent editions of this inscription see F. Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Dareios Ier (DSf et DSz) (1)," *Studia Iranica* 1 (1972) 3–13; M.-J. Steve, *Village Royale de Suse* VII (Paris, 1987) 64–77 (Old Persian and Akkadian). For the most recent studies see H. Klinkott, "Die Funktion des Apadana am Beispiel der Gründungsurkunde von Susa," in M. Schuol *et al*. (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen* (Stuttgart, 2002) 235–57; W. Henkelman, "'Dit paleis dat ik in Susa bouwde.' Bouwinscriptie(s) van koning Dareios I," in R. Demarée and K. Veenhof (eds.), *Zij schreven geschiedenis. Historische documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten (2500–100 v. Chr.)* (Leuven, 2003) 372–86.

> made Darius king, the one king of many, the one master of many (§ 1, tr. Schmitt).[20]

Darius, then, prefaced his accounts with a cosmogony in which he stressed the creation of heaven and earth by his favorite god, and, as can now be seen, Xerxes followed his father in this tradition.[21]

Unfortunately, we cannot be certain about the exact date of the building of Darius' palace in Susa. It seems to have been started about 520 BC, around the same time as the building in Persepolis.[22] The Persepolis Old Persian versions, though, do not yet mention the creation of heaven and earth by Ahuramazda.[23] This shows that the standard introductory formula had not yet developed at that time and must be dated to about 515–510 BC. Now neither Darius' father Cyrus nor his son Xerxes had the same relationship with Ahuramazda as Darius himself. The latter's preference is well illustrated by the fact that Ahuramazda is mentioned 63 times in his famous inscription of Bisitun (Behistun: DB),[24] whereas all the other gods are mentioned only once; similarly, it is Ahuramazda who is incessantly invoked in Darius' prayers. One cannot speak of monotheism in this case, but Darius evidently associated his own rise to power with a hegemonic position within the pantheon for Ahuramazda.[25]

The philosopher Heraclitus from Ephesus, who was a contemporary of Darius and, almost certainly, had met Persian Magi in his home town,[26] seems to have already reacted to this new doctrine of a

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[20] For a translation that also records the differences between the three versions, see P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris, 1997) 234–7: "Ahuramazda est le grand dieu qui a créé cette terre ici, qui a créé ce ciel là-bas, qui a créé l'homme, qui a créé le bonheur pour l'homme, qui a fait Darius roi, unique roi de nombreux, unique souverain de nombreux".

[21] For Xerxes see also the Persepolis inscriptions XPa, XPb, XPc, XPd and XPh.

[22] P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996) I.177–80 (building of Susa), 180–82 (building of Persepolis), II.934 (dates).

[23] Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, 56.

[24] For a description, bibliography and English translation of the inscription see most recently D. Asheri and M. Brosius, "The Inscription of Darius at Bisitun," in D. Asheri *et al.*, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV* (Oxford, 2007) 528–37.

[25] For the close tie between Darius and Ahuramazda, whom Darius promoted to the most prominent position in the Persian pantheon, see Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, I.138f.

[26] For his mention of Magi see Heraclitus B 14 = 87 Marcovich, cf. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 167 note 29, who reads *nyktipolois magois*. However, with F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge Mass., 1997) 21, I read: *nyktipolois*: *magois*, etc. For the various opinions about the fragment see this volume, Chapter XII, note 9.

creator god of heaven and earth, although not with approval: "This world order…no one of the gods or men has made" (B 30 = 51 Marcovich).[27]

Other reactions to Darius' claims may well have been the beginning of *Genesis* and parts of *Deutero-Isaiah*, the more so since it is precisely in the latter that Jahweh is elaborately hailed as incomparable (40.12–31, 46.5–13) and unique (43.8–13, 44.6–8, 45.18–25). Unfortunately, neither treatise can be accurately dated. However, the present text of *Genesis* must postdate the so-called *Priesterschrift*, the commonly accepted source for the first chapter of *Genesis*, which is generally dated to the period 550–490 BC.[28] As regards *Deutero-Isaiah*, the text mentions Cyrus (41.1–7, 42.5–9, 44.24–8, 45.1–8) and anticipates the fall of Babylon (539 BC: 43.14–5, 47.1–15, 52.11–12), but it also alludes to the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, which was completed in 515 BC (44.28). Whereas the early studies dated *Deutero-Isaiah* to the years immediately preceding the fall of Babylon, the most recent syntheses agree that the text is a composition of chronologically heterogeneous materials that do not allow a precise dating.[29]

Given these close similarities between the Persian and Israelite texts, it is hard to believe that the authors of *Genesis* 1.1 and the relevant chapters of *Deutero-Isaiah* did not, directly or indirectly, observe Ahuramazda's rise to prominence under Darius; they will also have observed Darius' claim that he was the creator of heaven and earth. Both authors (or their sources) may well have seen or heard of the Babylonian versions that reverse the Old Persian order and read "who has created heaven, who has created this earth" (Susa: DSf) or, even closer to the text of *Genesis*, "who created heaven and earth" (Persepolis: DPg).[30] Apparently, they did not want to pass over this claim for Ahuramazda as the creator and wrote a competing claim for Jahweh as the creator of heaven and earth. We might even speculate that *Genesis* 1.1 was prefixed to the

[27] As noted by Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 229.

[28] Source: E. Zenger *et al.*, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart, 1998[3]) 148: "Dass der Anfang von P[g] (Priesterschrift) in Gen 1 vorliegt, ist unbestritten". Date: H. Seebass, "Pentateuch," in *TRE* 26 (1996) 185–209 at 192: "Zwischen ca. 550 und den Anfang des 5. Jhu. v. Chr."; E. Zenger, "Priesterschrift," in *TRE* 27 (1997) 435–46 at 439: "eine Datierung um 520 v. Chr.".

[29] D. Michel, "Deuterojesaja," in *TRE* 8 (1981) 510–30; H.-J. Hermisson, "Deuterojesaja," in *RGG*[4] 2 (1999) 684–88.

[30] For the position of the Babylonian language in Darius' time see J. Oelsner, "Babylonische Kultur nach dem Ende des babylonischen Staates," in R.G. Kratz (ed.), *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden* (Gütersloh, 2002) 49–73 at 58–61.

creation account of the *Priesterschrift* in the early years of Darius' rule, perhaps for the occasion of the completion of the temple in 515 BC. However, all speculation is futile, since we lack stable chronological anchors regarding the development and transmission of the texts of *Genesis* and *Deutero-Isaiah*. What I hope to have established, though, is that future analyses of Israel's creation accounts can only neglect the Persian evidence at their own peril.[31]

[31] For comments and information I am most grateful to Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Marten Stol, Eibert Tigchelaar and the Groninger Oudtestamentische Kring.

APPENDIX II

MAGIC *AND* RELIGION?

Over a long period of time, social anthropologists have now been debating the question whether there is a difference between magic and religion, and if so, how magic should be defined.[1] Given the greatly increased attention to magic among classicists in recent years,[2] it is hardly surprising that this debate has now finally reached the ancient world as well. In an important article, H.S. Versnel has argued that "rejection of the word 'magic' will soon turn out to be unworkable" and that "it would be utterly unpractical to completely eliminate religion as one of the obvious models of contrast". He even argues:

> the question whether distinctions should be drawn between magic *and* religion or magic and other features *within* religion is (…) of minor importance. What is important is to make a distinction between magic and non-magic, and it will be impossible—and, *if* possible, utterly impractical—to completely eliminate religion as one obvious model of contrast.[3]

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[1] For short surveys with bibliography see most recently F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge Mass., 1997) 14–18; J. Braarvig, "Magic: Reconsidering the Grand Dichotomy" and E. Thomassen, "Is magic a subclass of ritual?," in D.R. Jordan *et al.* (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic* (Bergen, 1999) 21–54, 55–66, respectively; Y. Harari, "What is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflctions Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in S. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica. Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden, 2005) 91–124.

[2] See since 2000: A. Moreau and J.-C. Turpin (eds.), *La magie*, 4 vols (Montpellier, 2000); P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), M*agic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002); L. Ciraolo and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002); J.N. Bremmer and J.R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven, 2003); Ch. Burnett and W.F. Ryan (eds.), *Magic and the Classical Tradition* (London and Turin, 2006); M. Carastro, *La cité des mages* (Grenoble, 2006). For (bibliographical) surveys see R. Gordon, "Imagining Greek and Roman Magic," in B. Ankarloo and S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome* (Philadelphia, 1999) 159–275 at 266–9; J.L. Calvo Martínez, "Cien años de investigación sobre la magia antigua," *MHNH* 1 (2001) 7–60; S. Noegel *et al.*, "Introduction," in Noegel *et al.* (eds.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, 2003) 1–17; P. Fabrini, *Magica Antiqua. Indice e guida a una bibliografia informatica* (Pisa, 2006). Sourcebooks: D. Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford, 2002); G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi* (Baltimore, 2006^2).

[3] H.S. Versnel, "Some reflections on the relationship magic-religion," *Numen* 38 (1991) 177–97 at 177, 187 (with extensive bibliography).

Versnel is a declared follower of the etic approach, that is, the use of concepts developed by us, not by the actors, in order to have a common platform for communication and discussion. This is undoubtedly the most satisfactory position from a scholarly point of view and in this respect I wholeheartedly agree with him.[4] Yet, in order to be workable, the etic definition of a concept should always be as close as possible to the actors' point of view: if not, it will soon cease to be a useful definition. In this respect questions may arise about Versnel's position that we need religion as an obvious model of contrast to magic. I would like to make five observations which throw doubt on his (but not only his!) position.

First, attention in the debate is always focused on the definition of magic, as if the meaning of religion is generally agreed upon. In fact, religion was not yet conceptualized as a separate sphere of life in the Greco-Roman period and the term 'religion' only received its modern meaning in the immediate post-Reformation era, when the first contours of a separate religious sphere started to become visible.[5]

Secondly, the example of religion suggests that when analysing a concept we must also be sensitive to its semantic development. Here, we may point to the relatively late appearance of the word 'magic' in Western Europe. Linguistically, English *magyk* long existed alongside *magique*, which derived from Old French *art magique*. Modern French *magie* replaces *magique* only in the sixteenth century, German *Magie* is not to be found before the seventeenth century and Danish *magi* appears only in the eighteenth century.[6] Evidently, in the period stretching from the later Middle Ages to the beginning of the early modern era a need was felt for a new term, although the reasons for this development are still largely obscure.[7] Moreover, magic was not a static concept, as we can

[4] For interesting considerations about the problem see B. Boudewijnse, "Fieldwork at Home," *Etnofoor* (Amsterdam) 7 (1994) 73–95.

[5] See most recently Bremmer "'Religion', 'Ritual' and the Opposition 'Sacred vs. Profane'," in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Festschrift für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998) 9–32 at 11–2; J.Z. Smith, *Relating Religion* (Chicago and London, 2004) 179–96.

[6] See, respectively, *The Oxford English Dictionary* IX (Oxford, 1989^2) 185; R.L. Wagner, *"Sorcier" et "magicien". Contribution à l'histoire du vocabulaire de la Magie* (Paris, 1939); W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* VI.1 (Basel, 1969) s.v. *magia, magicus* (T. Reinhard); J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* VI (Leipzig, 1885) 1445; *Ordbog over det Danske sprog* III (Copenhagen, 1932) 771.

[7] K. Goldammer, *Der göttliche Magier und die Magierin Natur* (Stuttgart, 1991) 15: "Der Begriff, über den entstehungsgeschichtlich eigentlich wenig bekannt ist".

already see in antiquity:[8] the Renaissance invented the idea of a *magia naturalis*, the Romantics considered magic an art which could help "das Göttliche zu produziren" (Fr. Schlegel),[9] and modern witches seem to have even abolished the traditional distinction between religion and magic.[10] To oppose magic to religion, then, is to use two terms and concepts, which did not exist in antiquity,[11] but are both the product of late- and post-medieval Europe.

Thirdly, we should take into consideration that the ancients themselves did not oppose magic to religion. This becomes apparent when we look at both pagan and Christian positions. In his *Apology*, Apuleius first states that *magiam (…) artem esse dis immortalibus acceptam*, but he knows of course that this is the favourable interpretation of *magia*. He therefore continues that *more vulgari* a *magus* is somebody who through a *communio loquendi cum deis immortalibus* effects everything he wants through "an incredible power of incantations" (*omnia quae velit incredibili quadam vi cantaminum*: 26.6). One cannot fail to note that Apuleius does not contrast magic with religion, and neither do the early Church fathers. Admittedly, Justin points out that, unlike Christians, Jews and pagans exorcise with drugs, incense and incantations; Irenaeus stresses the absence of incantations and any other "wicked, curious art" in Christian miracles, and Origen denies that Christians use incantations, names of demons or magical formulas. Yet none of them formulates the debate in terms of an opposition magic-religion.[12]

Fourthly, in these texts the contrast is not between magic and religion *tout court*, but between magic and normative religious practice. Evidently,

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[8] See the surveys of the developments by Gordon, "Imagining Greek and Roman Magic" and F. Graf, "Une histoire magique," in Moreau and Turpin, *La magie* I, 41–60.

[9] For the semantic development note N. Henrichs, "Scientia magica," in A. Diemer (ed.), *Der Wissenschaftsbegriff. Historische und systematische Untersuchungen* (Meisenheim, 1970) 30–46; K. Goldammer, "Magie," in J. Ritter and K. Gründer (eds.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* V (Basel and Stuttgart, 1980) 631–6 (inadequate); P. Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura della magia* (Milano, 1991).

[10] As observed by R. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon. A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford, 1999) 394.

[11] R.L. Fowler, "Greek Magic, Greek Religion," in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000) 317–344, stresses that the Greeks do not define the concept of magic in any clear way, let alone oppose it to religion; see also his "The concept of magic," in *ThesCRA* III (2005) 283–7.

[12] Justin, *1 Apol*. 2.6, *Dial*. 69, 85; Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 2.32.5; Or. *C. Celsum* 1.6, 60 and 6.40; H. Remus, *Pagan-Christian Conflict over Miracle in the Second Century* (Cambridge MA, 1983) 52–72; F. Heintz, *Simon "Le Magicien": Actes 8, 5–25 et l'accusation de magie contre les prophètes thaumaturges dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1997).

magic was construed dialectically in terms of what it was not.[13] Does that mean that magic is an unworkable concept? Not necessarily so. When we look at the most frequent noted oppositions between what is normally called magic and religion, such as secret/public, night/day, individual/collective, anti-social/social, *voces magicae*/understandable language, coercive manipulation/supplicative negotiation, negative gods/positive gods and so on,[14] we cannot fail to note that the positive characteristics are approved of by most religions, just as the negative ones are generally disapproved of or negatively valued. Evidently, the structure of most religions is similar enough to share a common number of negative practices and values—dual classification and inversion being very widely spread ordering principles of ancient and, still, modern cosmology.[15] This 'family resemblance', to use the well-known Wittgensteinian term, between religions enables us to continue using magic as a concept with a recognisable referent to reality. However, at the same time we must always remain aware of the fact that cultures rarely agree in detail as to what constitutes magic.[16] That is already clear in antiquity where magic only becomes thematized in later Classical Greece, whereas the Later Roman Empire seems obsessed with it.[17]

Fifthly and finally, it is usually neglected that the moment of birth of the opposition magic-religion is only recent and can be established fairly exactly. Indeed, James George Frazer himself, the author of the famous *The Golden Bough*, who did most to popularise the opposition, tells us in the preface to the second edition of his *opus magnum* (1900), which had been published with the new subtitle *A study in magic and religion*, that he had derived the opposition from Sir Alfred Lyall (1858–1936) and Frank Jevons (1835–1911),[18] the first an able colonial administrator in India and the second an average classicist and historian of religion in Durham. Lyall had opposed native Indian witchcraft to the 'religion of civilization'

[13] I vary here an observation by S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the ideas of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997) 9 on the construction of witchcraft.

[14] Versnel, "Some reflections," 178f.

[15] See now the interesting discussion of Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 31–79.

[16] This is well argued by Fowler, "The concept of magic".

[17] M.Th. Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager. Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt, 1993); H. Kippenberg, "Magic in Roman Civil Discourse: Why Rituals could be Illegal," in Schäfer and Kippenberg, *Envisioning Magic*, 137–63; V. Neri, *I marginali nell' Occidente tardo antico* (Bari, 1998) 258–86.

[18] See also J.G. Frazer, *The Magic Art* I.1 (London, 1911) 224f.

and Jevons had contrasted the race 'less civilised' with magic to the race 'more civilised' with religion.[19]

Now since the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease* the contrast between superstitious and 'authentic' religious practice has become a virtually fixed aspect of discussions of religion until the time of Frazer. However, the terms of this debate did not always remain the same. Whereas in antiquity the opposite of accepted religious practice could be expressed with the terms *deisidaimonia*, *mageia/magia* or *superstitio*, the latter term became the ruling concept in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and it remained so until the nineteenth century.[20] Frazer changed this situation in two aspects. He not only subsumed the beliefs and practices which used to be called superstition under the category 'magic', but he also separated this category from religion in time. Whereas earlier generations of scholars had considered superstition a part, albeit a misguided one, of religion, Frazer suggested that magic had actually once preceded 'authentic' religion.[21]

Frazer's temporal distinction between magic and religion was immediately criticised by folklorists and soon abandoned, but his use of the term magic became an instant scholarly success among anthropologists.[22] Due to the more recent technological developments, we can now much more easily gauge the nature of Frazer's influence in this respect. As I first showed in my discussion of the term 'ritual',[23] the computerisation of the catalogues of the university libraries enables us to search for certain key terms in the titles of books. It is illustrative of Frazer's new

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[19] A.C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* (London, 1882) 75–98 ~ *Asiatic Studies* I (London, 1899²) 99–130, who also propagated the view that magic is a primitive stage of science; F.B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion* (London, 1896) 36–37.

[20] D. Harmening, "Aberglaube und Alter. Skizzen zur Geschichte eines polemischen Begriffes," in Harmening *et al.* (eds.), *Volkskultur und Geschichte. Festschrift für Josef Dünninger* (Berlin, 1970) 210–235 and *Superstitio: überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979); C. Daxelmüller, "Vorwort," in H. Bachtold-Stäubli (ed.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I (Berlin, 1987²) v–xxxvi at xxv–xxxii; Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 472–88.

[21] The same thought seems to have occurred to Tylor, cf. W. Hanegraaff, "The Emergence of the Academic Science of Magic: The Occult Philosophy in Tylor and Frazer," in A. Molendijk and P. Pels (eds.), *Religion in the Making. The Emergence of the Sciences of Religion* (Leiden, 1998) 253–75 at 262; note also A. Orsucchi, "La scoperta della magia. Etnologia e 'scienze dello spirito' tra Nietzsche, Usener e Cassirer," *Rinascimento* 39 (1999) 95–118.

[22] For the reception of the second edition see R. Ackerman, *J.G. Frazer: his life and work* (Cambridge, 1987) 164–79; for the success of the term magic among anthropologists, G.W. Stocking, *After Tylor: British social anthropology 1888–1951* (Madison, 1995) 150.

[23] Bremmer, "'Religion', 'Ritual'," 22f.

approach that books with both terms 'magic' and 'religion' in their title are not attested before the year 1900,[24] but virtually immediately become a normal feature of social anthropology and the history of religion after Frazer's work,[25] and they have remained thus ever since—witness the title of Keith Thomas' classic *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). In fact, the very first book which uses the terms in the main title is *Magic and Religion* by Andrew Lang (1844–1912) of, note the year, 1901—a clear indication of the interest Frazer had evoked with his new categorisation.[26] The opposition, then, is a typical product of the Victorian middle-classes with their strong need for positive self-definition against the colonial subjects abroad and the peasants at home.[27] It has no place in a discussion of magic in antiquity and the Middle Ages.[28]

[24] As Lourens van den Bosch points out to me, the term 'magic' is still absent from the indices of the books of Max Müller (1823–1900), the most famous historian of religion of the second half of the nineteenth century.

[25] The first examples are A. Haddon *et al.*, *Sociology, magic and religion of the western islanders* (Cambridge, 1904); A. Haddon, *Syllabus of five lectures on magic and primitive religion* (London, 1905); H. Hubert, *Étude sommaire de la representation du temps dans la religion et la magie* (Paris, 1905); E. Westermarck, *Religion och magi* (Stockholm, 1907, 1920^2); A. Haddon *et al.*, *Sociology, magic and religion of the eastern islanders* (Cambridge, 1908); E. Doutte, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1908); P. Giran, *Magie et religion annamites* (Paris, 1912); K. Beth, *Religion und Magie bei den Naturvölkern* (Leipzig, 1914); L. Deubner, *Magie und Religion* (Freiburg, 1922), reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften zur klassischen Altertumskunde* (Königstein, 1981) 275–98.

[26] A. Lang, *Magic and Religion* (London, 1901) with already a devastating critique of the categorisation (46–75).

[27] Cf. H. Kuklick, *The savage within. The social history of British anthropology, 1885–1945* (Cambridge, 1991) 75–118; H. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age* (Princeton, 2002) 81–97; A. Kuper, *The reinvention of primitive society: transformations of a myth* (London and New York, 2005^2).

[28] For information and comments I would like to thank Bob Fowler, Sigurd Hjelde, Goffe Jensma, Peter van Minnen and Herman Roodenburg.

APPENDIX III

THE SPELLING AND MEANING OF THE NAME MEGABYXOS

Megabyxos is the name of a friend of Cyrus the Great (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.7) and of one of Darius' fellow conspirators against the false Smerdis (Hdt. 3.70.3 *etc.*). The latter's grandson, the son of his son Zopyros,[1] was equally called Megabyxos,[2] and he is regularly mentioned in reports of the struggle of the Greeks against the Persians.[3] Somewhat later, we hear of another Megabyxos too, the wealthy, eunuch priest of Artemis of Ephesus, who is also attested epigraphically (below).[4] The evidence for this Megabyxos starts to flow from the latter half of the fifth century onwards. Our oldest source is perhaps Crates' comedy *Tolmai* where a character says: "He cajoles the victual-seeker, but though shivering in the house of Megabyxos…",[5] clearly meaning 'starving in the house of plenty' (thus Gomme on Thuc. 1.109.3). However, the first, absolutely certain, reference to the Ephesian Megabyxos is found in Xenophon (*An.* 5.3.6–7).

Since 1895 the name Megabyxos used to be explained as 'set free by God',[6] but Benveniste has attractively suggested that the name should be interpreted as 'He who serves (satisfies) God'.[7] I am not

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[1] For Zopyros and his ruse see S. West, "Croesus' Second Reprieve and Other Tales of the Persian Court," *CQ* 53 (2003) 416–37 at 428–33.

[2] Note that Chariton 5.3.4 and 7.5.5 play with the combination Zopyros/Megabyxos.

[3] Hdt 3.160, 7.82, 121; Thuc. 1.109; Ktesias *FGrH* 688, *passim*; De(i)non *FGrH* 690 F 1; Aristodemus *FGrH* 104 F 1, 11, cf. T.S. Brown, "Megabyzus son of Zophyrus," *Ancient World* 15 (1987) 65–74.

[4] For this wealth see Call. *Hymn.* 3.250; D. Knibbe *et al.*, "Der Grundbesitz der ephesischen Artemis im Kaystrostal," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 139–47; R. Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus* (Berlin and New York, 1996) 76–79 ("The wealth of Artemis"); B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford, 2002) 141–56, 172–77.

[5] Crates fr. 37, tr. Gulick, Loeb, adapted; the rest of the fragment is corrupt.

[6] F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895) 56f.

[7] E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien* (Paris, 1966) 108–17. His interpretation has been accepted by M. Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* I 2 (Vienna, 1979) 16; R. Schmitt, *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons* (Vienna, 2002) 63.

sure, though, that the name was chosen for the priest of Artemis on the basis of this meaning, as Benveniste suggests,[8] let alone that "auf jeden Fall" the Ephesian temple warden demonstratively accepted the Persian name to stress his relation to Artemis, as Burkert states.[9] In fact, there is nothing in our tradition to support these suggestions and, as we have seen, the oldest known persons with the name Megabyxos were not priests either.[10]

Megabyxos, then, is a normal Persian name, but how should we write it? In my brief enumeration I have consequently called these Persians Megabyxos instead of Megabyzos, which is an often-accepted spelling. This spelling may be due to the normal confusion between ξ and ζ, but it may have also been influenced by Megabazos, a rather similar Persian name (Hdt. 4.143.4, *etc*.), if with a different meaning.[11] However, that Megabyxos is the correct Greek rendering is demonstrated by the spelling of the conspirator's name in the Old Persian (DB IV 85), Elamite (DB elam. III 91) and Babylonian (DB babylon. 111) versions of Darius' famous inscription on the rock of Bisitun (Behistun): *Bagabuxša*.[12] The somewhat surprising Greek rendering of the Persian element *Baga-* with *Mega-* was probably promoted by Southern Asia Minor (Lydia?), as more recently a Lycian rendering *Magabata* of Old Persian **Bagapata* has turned up,[13] even though in a few cases the original *Baga-* did survive in Greek and Latin.[14]

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[8] This is accepted by Schmitt, *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen*, 63; in the same direction, West, "Croesus' Second Reprieve," 428–9 note 56.

[9] W. Burkert, "Die Artemis der Epheser: Wirkungsmacht und Gestalt einer grossen Göttin," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1999) 59–70 at 63 ~ *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 106.

[10] For a different opinion see R. Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme in den erhaltenen Resten von Ktesias' Werk* (Vienna, 2006) 110.

[11] For the element *–bazos* see note 14; see also A. Christol, "Le Grec au contact des Iraniens et des Indiens," in A. Blanc and A. Christol (eds.), *Langues en contact dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1999) 107–23 at 114.

[12] R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *Zs. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesells.* 117 (1967) 119–45 at 143. For editions of the Bisitun inscription see R. Schmitt, *The Old Persian inscriptions I: The Bisitun inscriptions of Darius the Great: Old Persian text* (London, 1991); F. Malbran-Labat, *La version akkadienne de l'inscription trilingue de Darius à Behistun* (Rome, 1994).

[13] See the discussions by R. Schmitt: "Nachlese zur Achaimenidischen Anthroponomastik," *Beitr. z. Namenf.* 6 (1971) 1–27 at 8–11 and *Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasiens (Lykisch, Lydisch, Phrygisch)* (Vienna, 1982) 23; E. Dettori, "Trag. Adesp. *120c K-Sn (BAGATAN)," *ZPE* 153 (2005) 75–82.

[14] Hdt 3.128.1–5, 7.80, 8.130.2: Bagaios, cf. Schmitt, *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen*, 50; Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 13–16 (10x): Bagapates, cf. Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme*, 156–7; Diod. Sic. 18.110.5: Bagistane, cf. Christol, "Le Grec," 114; De(i)non *FGrH* 690

The observation that we should write the name Megabyxos with a ξ on the basis of Bagabuxša was made first by Paul de Lagarde (1827–91). Although initially rejected by Wilhelm Schulze (1863–1935), the case was conclusively demonstrated by Jacob Wackernagel (1853–1938),[15] who also adduced the name Labyxos from Ktesias (*FGrH* 688 F 13, 13).[16]

Resuming and enlarging Wackernagel's material, we note that Megabyxos with a ξ is supported by the majority of the Herodotean manuscripts of the Laurentianus family, but also sometimes occurs in the Vaticanus (Her. 3.160, 7.121). Although Hiller von Gaertringen's edition of *I. Priene* still printed Megabyzos in no's 3 and 231, the photo of the latter clearly showed a ξ, as the Roberts (*Bull. Ep.* 1968, 466) did not fail to note. In fact, inspired by Schulze, Wilamowitz had already observed that in both cases the spelling with a ξ should have been expected,[17] and Hiller von Gaertringen did indeed print the name that way in the later editions of these inscriptions (*SIG*[4] 282). The spelling Megabyxos is also supported by the (majority of the) manuscripts of Strabo (14.1.23); Pliny (*NH* 35.93, although Croisille prints Megabyzus in his 1985 Budé edition); Quintilian (5.12.21, although Radermacher prints Megabyzus in his 1935 Teubner edition); Apollonius of Tyana, (*Ep.* 2); Aristodemus (*FGrH* 104 F 1) and the Suda (β 6 and μ 9).

De Lagarde, radical as he was, had already advocated that everywhere the spelling Megabyxos should be introduced. His point of view has indeed been followed by Gabba, who introduced the spelling Megaby*x*os in his edition of Appian (*BC* 5.36: Florence, 1971), but this should also be done in Crates (fr. 37), Thucydides (1.109.3, where Gomme's commentary is better than Hornblower's in this respect), Ktesias (*passim*,

F 1: Bagabyxos, as emended by Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme*, 107 note 136; Justinus 3.1.5: *Bagabazum*: my emendation of the manuscript *Baccabasum*, which is printed by Seel in his Teubner edition of 1972, whereas Nöldeke's emendation *Bagabaxum*, quoted by Seel in his critical apparatus, is evidently wrong, since the element *–bazum* goes back to ancient Iranian **vazdah*, "force, power, physical stamina, etc.," cf. Schmitt, *Die Iranischen und Iranier-Namen*, 44–45, 76–7 and *Iranische Anthroponyme*, 125–6; Curt. Ruf. 5.1.20, 44: Bagophanes, cf. Schmitt, ibidem, 110f.

[15] P.A. de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) 190–1; W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, 1933) 271 note 3; J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols (Göttingen, 1955–79) II.1212f.

[16] But see now Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme*, 248f.

[17] Wilamowitz *apud* F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin, 1906) 308.

but where A has Megabyxos in F 14, 36);[18] Xenophon (*An*. 5.3.6–7, *Cyr*. 8.6.7), Menander (*DE*. fr. 5 Sandbach), Diod. Sic. (*passim* in books 10–12); Chariton (5.3.4, 7.5.5), Plut (*Alex*. 42, *Mor*. 58D, 471f); Aelian (*VH* 2.2), Lucian (*Tim*. 22) and the lexicographical tradition (Hsch. μ 446; Photius μ 160)—not to mention other Byzantine authors.[19]

[18] Schmitt, *Iranische Anthroponyme*, 107–10; note that Lenfant keeps Megabyzos in her recent Budé edition (2004).

[19] I thank Jitse Dijkstra for reading this Appendix.

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* I have omitted commentaries, editions, encyclopedias, grammars, handbooks, translations, etc.

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